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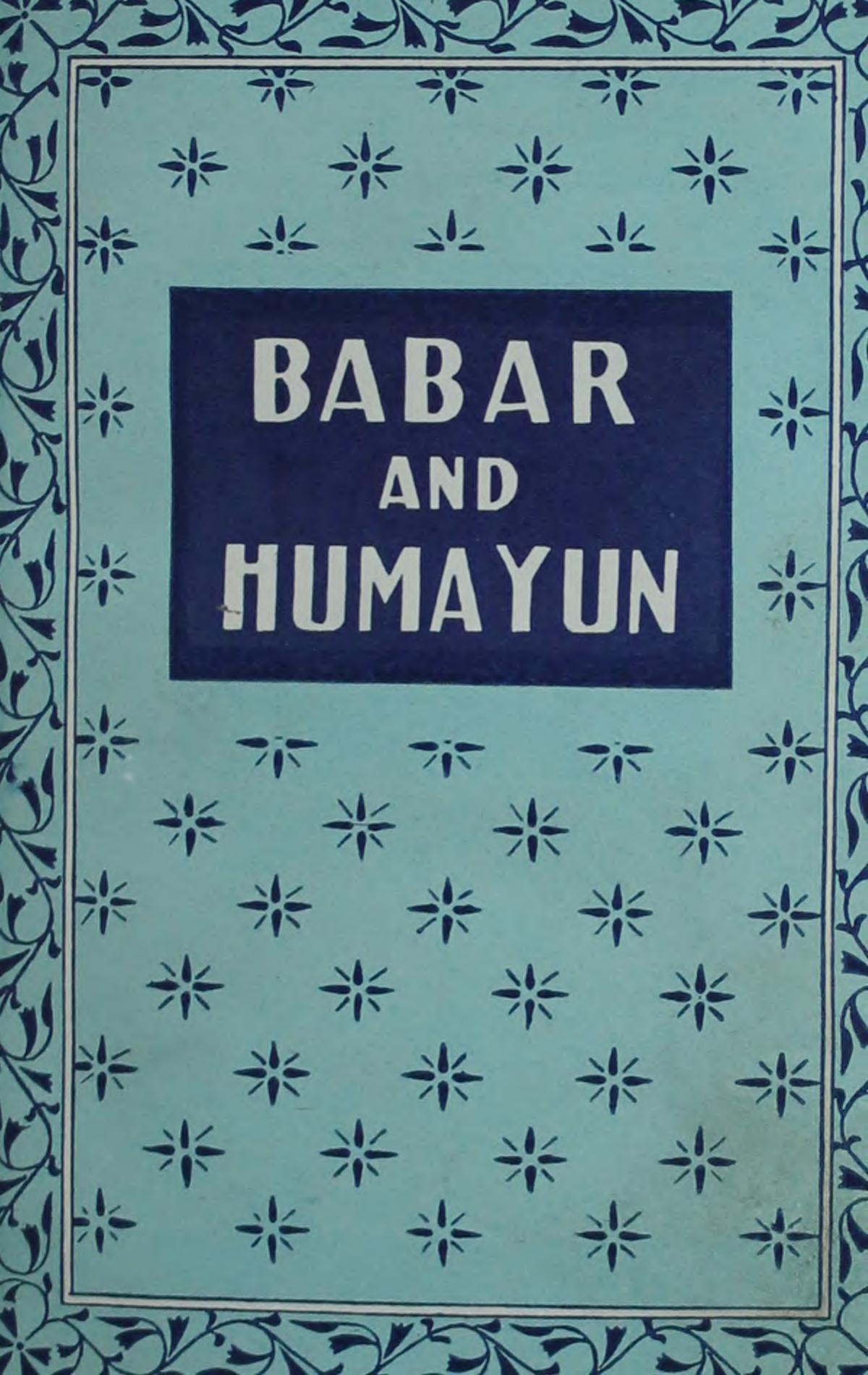
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THE HISTORY OF INDIA



THE HISTORY OF INDIA.

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The articles published in this volume are reprinted from Vols. IV and V of the original edition, and deal with the reigns of Babar and Humayun. The Editor Professor John Dowson makes the following prefatory remarks about these articles in the

original edition of this work:

. . . "Of the Extracts from the Autobiography of Babar little need be said. These Memoirs are the best memorials of the life and reign of the frank and jovial conqueror; they are ever fresh and will long continue to be read with interest and pleasure. To have passed these over on the ground of their previous publication would have left a blank in this work which no other writer could supply. Who but himself could have so fully and openly described his aims and feelings, or who could have exhibited that adaptability of character and that ready appreciation of manners and prejudices of his new subjects? All the important passages relating to India, have therefore been extracted from Leyden and Erskine's translation, and they will be the more acceptable since the original work has now become scarce and dear. A new French translation by M. Pavet de Courteille from Babar's own Turkey version of the Memoirs made its appearance just in time to furnish materials for a few notes and comparisons; but the differences between the translations from the Persian and Turki versions are not so great as might have been expected." . .

notices of the first reign of Humayun . . . "Some given by the Afghan historians, and his overthrow and expulsion are described by them in this volume. The Humayun-nama of the veteran historian Khondamir gives some curious accounts of the regulations established by Humayun in the early part of his reign. This is followed by a few extracts from the valuable Tarikh-i Rashidi of Mirza Haidar, the brave and adventurous cousin of the Emperor Babar. The work is a general history of the Mugha Khans, and does not contain much about India; but the Mirza was a vigorous writer, and what he has recorded of his Indian experience is very vivid and interesting. Some few passages have been extracted from the Memoirs of Humayun, written by his personal attendant Jauhar, and translated into English by Major Stewart. But the general history of this reign has been drawn from the Tabakat-i Akbari of Nizamu-d din Ahmad. . . . The Tarikh-i Alfi. from which some extracts have been made, is a general history

compiled under the direction of the Emperor Akbar." . . .

The following is a list of the articles in this volume with the

names of their respective writers:

1. Tuzak-i Babari—Leyden and Erskine's translation.
2. Tabakat-i Babari—Editor. 3. Humayun-nama—Sir H. M. Elliot's Munshi. 4. Tarikh-i Rashidi—Editor. 5. Tazkiratu-l Waki'at—Major Stewart. 6. Tarikh-i Alfi—Sir H. M. Elliot and the Editor. Appendix.—Notes A, B and C—Sir H. M. Elliot.

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TUZAK-I BABARI or WAK'IAT-I BABARI

ADDENDUM

Page 79, "Shaikh Zain was one of the most learned men of the time, and translated in an elegant style the memoirs written by the late Emperor Babar."—Badauni, Text, vol. i. p. 341.

CORRIGENDUM

Page 84, line 5, delete the word "in all probability."

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BABAR

The Commentaries of Babar, originally written in Turki, were translated into Persian in the middle of Akbar's reign, by 'Abdu-r Rahim, Khan Khanan, and are well known to the English reader by the admirable translation of Leyden and Erskine. The Persian translation was presented to the Emperor Akbar in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, 998 H. (1590 A.D.), and the translator died in

1627 A.D., at the age of seventy-two.

Babar's memoirs form one of the best and most faithfull pieces of autobiography extant; they are infinitely superior to the hypocritical revelations of Timur and the pompous doclamation of Jahangir—not inferior in any respect to the Expedition of Xenophon, and rank but little below the Commentaries of Cæsar. They are equal in simplicity, and exhibit much less dissimulation than that celebrated work. The Emperor Jahangir states that he himself added some chapters to the work in the Turki language, in which language Captain Hawkins, on his visit to Agra in A.D. 1609, conversed with him. The language of Babar's original is in the purest dialect of the Turki language, not being so much intermixed as that of the other Turkish tribes with terms derived from the Arabic and Persian.

Zahiru-d din Muhammad, surnamed Babar, or the Tiger, was one of the descendants of Changiz Khan and of Timur; and though inheriting only the small kingdom of Farghana, in Bucharia, ultimately extended his dominions by conquest to Dehli and the greater part of Hindustan; and transmitted to his descendants the magni-

¹Blochmann's 'Ain Akbari, pp. 105 and 335. "Akbar-nama," Lucknow edition, vol. iii., p. 596.

ficent empire of the Mughals. He was born in 1482, and died in 1530. Passing the greater part of his time in desperate military expeditions, he was a great general and a profound politician; he was an educated and accomplished man, and an eminent scholar, in Arabic, Persian and Hindi; he was also an elegant poet; a minute and fastidious critic in all the niceties and elegancies of diction; a curious and exact observer of the statistical phenomena of every region he entered; a great admirer of beautiful prospects and fine flowers; and, though a devoted Muhammadan in his way, a very resolute and jovial drinker of wine. Good-humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV. if his training had been in Europe; and even as he is, he is less stained, perhaps, by the Asiatic vices of cruelty and perfidy than any other in the list of Asia's conquerors. The work under notice is a faithful account of his own life and transactions, written, with some considerable ' blanks, up to the year 1508, in the form of a narrative, from which time to 1519 there is a blank; and it is continued afterwards, as a journal, till 1529.

The translation was begun by the learned and enterprising Dr. Leyden, and was completed and the whole of the valuable commentary added by W. Erskine, on the solicitation of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm. The greater part of the translation was finished and transmitted to England in 1817, but was only committed to the Press in the course of 1826. It is illustrated by intelligent and learned notes, and by introductory dissertations, clear, masterly, and full of instruction. The preface to the translation contains a learned account of the Turki language (in which these memoirs were written), the prevailing tongue of Central Asia-some valuable corrections of Sir William Jone's notices of the Institutes of Timur-and a very clear explanation of the method employed in the translation, and the various helps by which the great difficulties of the task were relieved. The

first Introduction, however, contains much more valuable matter; it is devoted to an account of the great Tatar tribes, who, under the denomination of the Turki, the Mughal, and the Manchu races, may be said to occupy the whole vast extent of Asia, north of Hindustan and part of Persia, and westward from China. The second Introduction contains a brief but clear abstract of the history of Mughalistan, from the time of Timur to Babar, together with an excellent memoir of the map which accompanies the work, and an account of the geography of Bukhara.

The body of the work, independent of the historical value of the transactions which it records, abounds in statistical accounts which evidently display the monarch as a man of genius and observation. Modern travellers have agreed that his descriptions of Kabul and its environs, as well as of Farghana, and the countries to the north of Hindukush, are not to be exceeded for their fidelity

and comprehensiveness.

The most remarkable piece of statistics, however, with which he has furnished us, is in his account of Hindustan, which he first entered as a conqueror in 1525. It occupies in the translation twenty-five closely printed quarto pages; and contains, not only an exact account of its boundaries, population, resources, revenues, and divisions, but a full enumeration of all its useful fruits, trees, birds, beasts, and fishes, with such a minute description of their several habitudes and peculiarities as would make no contemptible figure in a modern work of natural history—carefully distinguishing the facts which rest on his own observation from those which he gives only on the testimony of others, and making many suggestions as to the means of improving, or transferring them from one region to another.

He mentions, for instance, the introduction of the plantain at Kabul, where it was found to thrive very well, which shows the elevation at which it will grow; respecting which there has been some discussion in India. A few

extracts from his graphic account, in which he exhibits all the prejudices of a fastidious Englishman, will not be

deemed out of place here.

"Hindustan is situated in the first, second, and third climates. No part of it is in the fourh. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. Although the Garmsils (or hot districts), in the territory of Kabul, bear, in many respects, some resemblance to Hindustan, while in other particulars they differ, yet you have no sooner passed the river Sind than the the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people, are all entirely those of Hindustan. The northern range of hills has been mentioned. Immediately on crossing the river Sind, we come upon several countries in this range of mountains, connected with Kashmir, such as Pakhali and Shamang. Most of them though now independent of Kashmir, were formerly included in its territories. After leaving Kashmir, these hills contain innumerable tribes and states, parganas and countries, and extend all the way to Bengal and the shores of the Great Ocean. About these hills. are other tribes of men."

"The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform look: its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brushwood to such a degree that the people of the parganas, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustan, if you

except the rivers, there is little running water. Now and then some standing water is to be met with. All these cities and countries derive their water from wells or tanks, in which it is collected during the rainy season. In Hindustan, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population."

"Hindustan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, or frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse; they have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazzars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick."

"The chief excellency of Hindustan is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season, inundations come pouring down all at once, and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful—insomuch that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. Its defect is, that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless. Nor is it the bow alone that becomes useless; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. Their houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built. There

is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer as well as in the rainy season; but then the north wind always blows and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an andhi. It gets warm during Taurus and Gemini, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahar. It is not above half so warm as in these places. Another convenience of Hindustan is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable, and without end. For any work or any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages., In the Zafar-nama of Mulla Sharifu-d din 'Ali Yazdi, it is mentioned as a surprising fact, that when Timur Beg was building the Sangin (or stone) mosque, there were stonecutters of Azarbaijan, Fars, Hindustan, and other countries, to the number of 200, working every day on the mosque. In Agra alone, and of stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons; and in Agra, Sikri, Bayana, Dhulpur, Gwalior, and Koel, there were every day employed on my works 1491 stone-cutters. In the same way, men of every trade and occupation are numberless, and without stint in Hindustan.

"The countries from Bahrah to Bihar, which are now under my dominion, yield a revene of fifty-two krors, as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, parganas to the value of eight or nine krors are in the possession of some Rais and Rajas, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these parganas for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience."

It is not only in narrative and statistical details that the work excels—it presents also what is so exceedingly rare in Asiatic history, the characters of his countrymen and contemporaries—their appearance, manners, dress, pursuits, tastes, habits, and actions, and with such minuteness and reality, that they seem to form part of our acquaintenance, and to live amongst us as one of ourselves.

But the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper with which he set out on his career and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyment of nature and

imagination.

"It is a relief," says his translator, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood." He speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fireside; and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, relates their adventures, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities.

After a letter on the affairs of his government to his most confidential counsellor Khwaja Kilan (then at Kabul), he tells him little anecdotes of their common acquaintances, which he thinks will amuse him, and adds, "For God's sake excuse all these fooleries, and do not think the worse of me for them." He endeavours afterwards to persuade Khwaja Kilan to leave off wine, as he had done; and says, in substance, "Drinking was a very pleasant thing with our old friends and companions; but now that you have only Shir Ahmad and Haidar Kuli to take your wine with, it can be no great sacrifice to leave it off." In the same letter he says how much he envies his friend his residence at Kabul, and adds, "They very re-

cently brought me a single musk-melon; while cutting it up, I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it."

Babar was a constant and jovial toper. Many a drinking party is recorded in his Memoirs, with at least as much interest as his battles or negotiations; and unsuitable as they are to his station, they are not the least agreeable scenes in his history. The perfect ease and familiarity among the company makes one forget the prince in the man; and the temptations that generally lead to those excesses—a shady wood, a hill with a fine prospect, or the idleness of a boat floating down a river; together with the amusements with which they are accompanied, extemporary verses, recitations in Turki and Persian, with sometimes a song, and often a contest of repartee-greatly diminish the coarseness that might attach to such scenes of dissipation. Even in the middle of a harassing and desultory campaign, there is no intermission of this excessive jollity, though it sometimes puts the parties into jeopardy; for example:

"We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline, when we set out. Those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Saiyid Kasim was so drunk that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with great difficulty. Dost Muhammad Bakir was so far gone, that Amin Muhammad Tarkhan, Masti Chihrah, and those who were along with him, were unable, with all their exertions, to get him on horseback. They poured a great quantity of water over him, but all to no purpose. At this moment a body of Afghans appeared in sight. Amin Muhammad Tarkhan, being very drunk, gravely gave it as his opinion, that rather than leave him in the condition in which he was, to fall into the hands of the enemy, it was better at once to cut off his head and carry it away. Making another exertion, however, with much difficulty, they contrived to throw him upon a horse, which they led along,

and so brought him off."

On some occasions they contrived to be drunk four times in twenty-four hours. The gallant prince contents himself with a strong ma'jun2 one day; but "next morning we had a drinking party in the same tent. We continued drinking till night. On the following morning we again had an early cup, and, getting intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day prayers, we left Istalif, and I took a ma'jun on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before I reached Bahzadi. The crops were extremely good. While I was riding round the harvest-fields, such of my companions as were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking-bout. Although I had taken a ma'jun, yet, as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit, and began to drink. We kept up the party in the same place till bed-time prayers."

In a year or two after this, when he seems to be in a course of unusual indulgence, we meet with the following edifying remark: "As I intend, when forty years old, to abstain from wine; and as I now want somewhat less than one year of being forty, I drink wine most copiously!" When forty comes, however, we hear nothing of this sage resolution; but have a regular record of the wine and ma'jun parties as before, up to the year 1527. In that year, however, he is seized with rather a sudden fit of penitence, and has the resolution to begin a course of rigorous reform. There is something rather pictuersque in his very solemn and remarkable account of this great revolution in his habits.3 It would have been well if Babar had carried out his intention, and left off wine sooner, for there seems good reason to think his indulgence in it shortened his days.

²An intoxicating electuary.

³See infra.

Babar appears to have been of a frank and generous. character; and there are throughout the Memoirs various. traits of singular clemency and tenderness of heart for an Eastern monarch and professional warrior. He weeps ten whole days for the loss of a friend who fell over a precipice after one of their drinking parties, and spares the lives and even restores the domains of various chieftains who had betrayed his confidence and afterwaards fallen into his power. Yet there are traces of Asiatic ferocity, and of a hard-hearted wastefulness of life, which remind us that we are beyond the pale of European gallanry and Christian compassion. In his wars in Afghanistan and India, the prisoners are commonly butchered in cold blood after the action; and pretty uniformly a triumphal pyramid is erected of their skulls. These horrible executions, too, are performed with much solemnity before the royal pavilion; and on one occasion, it is incidentally recorded, that such was the number of prisoners brought forward for this infamous butchery, that the sovereign's tent had three times to be removed to a different station; the ground before it being so drenched with blood, and encumbered with quivering carcases! On one occasion, and on one only, an attempt was made to poison himthe mother of one of the soverigns whom he had dethroned having bribed his cooks and tasters to mix death in his repast. Upon the detection of the plot the taster was cut in pieces, the cook flayed alive, and the scullions trampled to death by elephants. Such, however, was the respect paid to rank, or the indulgence to maternal resentment, that the prime mover of the whole conspiracy, the queen dowager, is merely put under restraint, and has a contribution levied on her private

The unsettled nature of his life is shown by his observing, near the end of it, that since he was eleven years old he had never kept the fast of the Ramazan twice in any one place; and the time not spent in war and

travelling was occupied in hunting and other sports, or in long excursions on horseback about the country. On his last journey, after his health had begun to fail, he rode, in two days from Kalpi to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for despatch; and on the same journey, he swam twice across the Ganges, as he said he had done with every other river he had met with. His mind was as active as his body; besides the business of the kingdom, he was constantly taken up with aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, as well as introducing new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to compose many elegant Persian poems and a collection of Turki compositions, which are mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of of his own country.

The Memoirs of Babar remained for a time unknown, until they were transposed from the Turki into the more popular language of Persia. It is difficult to believe that they are the work of an Asiatic and a sovereign. Though copiously, and rather diffusely written, they are prefectly free from the ornamental verbosity, the eternal metaphor, and puerile exaggerations of most Oriental compositions; and though savouring so far of royalty as to abound in descriptions of dresses and cremonies, they are yet occupied in the main with concerns greatly too rational and humble to be much in favour with monarchs. The English translation seems to have imbibed the very spirit of the original. The style is singularly happy, strikingly characteristic, though perfectly natural and equally remote from the usual inflated language of the East, and from the imitation of scriptural simplicity into which other translators of similar works have fallen.

(In later life Erskine again took up the subject in which he had gained distinction. "Observing that most of our general histories" were based "on the brief but judicious abridgment of Firishta," "it seemed that a nation possessing such an empire as that of the British in

India, ought to have some ampler record of the transactions of the different dynasties which preceded their own in that country." "The most natural and effectual means of supplying this want, he thought, would certainly be a general edition of the historians of India,-a Corpus Scriptorum Historiæ Indicæ," in fact, such a work as Sir H. Elliot had projected, and of which the present is an imperfect realization. Seeing the difficulties in the way of such a work, he directed his energies "to furnish from as many of the historians of India as were accessible to the author, such a narrative of public events during the first six Emperors of the House of Timur, from Babar to Aurangzib, as might be at once more minute and more authentic, than, so far as the author knows, has yet appeared in any European language." Death prevented the accomplishment of this design, but the history of the reigns of Babar and of Humayun, which the author had completed before his decease was published afterwards in 1854, in two volumes. These contain a full and minute account of the reigns of Babar and his son, leaving nothing to be desired for the elucidation of the history of those times. Were the present work intended only to supply new matter and to make up previous deficiencies, the reigns of Babar and Humayun might well be passed over: but as the book is intended to be a continuous history, the annals of these reigns must have their place in it, though there will not be the necessity of entering upon them so fully as their importance would otherwise require. Babar is essentially the historian of his own times, and the Extracts which follow give the history of his conquest of India. They have been taken from Erskine's translation.

The foregoing article was already in type when a new translation of Babar's Memoirs issued from the press. This translation has been made direct from the Turki, or Jaghatai, language into French by M. Pavet de Courteille, of the College de France. The text employed

was the edition published at Kasan in 1857 by M. Ilminski. M. de Courteille, rendering due justice to the English translation of the Memoirs, declares his sole motive for undertaking a new one was that the English version had been drawn more from the Persian translation than from the original Turki. Though the English translators possessed the original version, they had but a limited knowledge of its language, and they "relied principally on the Persian." Such being the case, M. de Courteille has rendered good service by supplying a new version direct from the language in which the illustrious author wrote, and thus dissipating all misgivings as to the accuracy of the Persian translation from which our English version was taken. The following extracts have been carefully compared, and in both versions they tell exactly the same story. Some differences have been noted in the following pages, as well as some passages which are wanting in one or the other version, but these are differences which are attributable to the copyists rather than to the Persian translator. M. de Courteille agrees with the English translators that Babar wrote the Memoirs late in life, and he also accords with them in believing that he left them incomplete, as we now possess them. Indeed, it is hardly possible to think otherwise. Such an important work, by such an exalted personage, is not likely to have fallen out of notice, and to have been mutilated in the short interval between the date of its completion and of its translation into Persian. But the Turki and Persian versions are both alike defective, and so the inference is unavoidable that the work was never completed. It is certain that, notwithstanding great search and inquiry, the missing years have never been found. Sir H. M. Elliot was encouraged in his researches by receiving an Extract purporting to be the history of 931, one of the missing years; it turns out, however, to be the narrative of the uneventful year 926, already published by Erskine.

There is a very fine copy of the Turki text in the Library of the East India Office.4

FIRST INVASION

On the 14th Safar, 925 (February 15th, 1519), when we left Bajaur, we did it with the intention of attacking Bahrah⁵ before we returned to Kabul. We were always full of the idea of invading Hindustan. This was prevented by various circumstances. For three or four months that the army had been detained in Bajaur, it had got no plunder of value. As Bahrah is on the borders of Hindustan, and was near at hand, I conceived that, if I were now to push without baggage, the soldiers might light upon some booty. Moving on under these impressions, and plundering the Afghans in our progress, when I reached Makam, several of my principal adherents advised me, that if we were to enter Hindustan, we should do it on a proper footing, and with an adequate force. . . . Though the advice was prefectly judicious, we made the inroad in spite of all these objections.

Early next morning we marched towards the passage over the Sind. I despatched Mir Muhummad Jala-ban in advance, with his brothers and some troops to escort them, for the purpose of examining the banks of the river, both above and below. After sending on the army towards the river, I myself set off for Sawati, which they likewise call Kark-khana, to hunt the rhinoceros. We started many rhinoceroses, but as the country adounded in brush-

wood, we could not get at them. . .

4See David's Turkish Grammar.—Journ. Asiatique,

1842, p. 72. Klaproth, Mem. ii. 134.

The country on the Jilam or Hydaspes, near the town of that name, but chiefly on the right bank of the river.

6(P. de C. reads "Gurk," but Karg is the Persian for

rhinoceros.)

Next morning, being Thursday the 17th (16), we crossed the ford with our horses, camels, and baggage; the camp bazar and the infantry were floated across on rafts. The same day the inhabitants of Nilab⁷ waited on me, bringing an armed horse⁸ and 300 Shah-rukhis⁹ as a peshkash. As soon as we had got all our people across, that same day at noon-day prayers, we proceeded on our march, which we continued for one watch of the night, and halted at the river of Kachah-kot. Marching thence before day, we crossed the river of Kachah-kot, and the same evening surmounted the pass of Sangdaki¹⁰ and halted. Saiyid Kasim, Ishak Agha¹¹ who brought up the rear-guard, took a few Gujars who followed the camp, cut off some of their heads and brought them in.

Marching at the dawn from Sangdaki, and crossing the river Suhan¹² about noon-day prayers, we encamped. Our stragglers continued to come in till midnight. It was an uncommonly long and severe march, and as it was made when our horses were lean and weak, it was peculiarly hard on them, so that many horses were worn out and fell down by the way. Seven hos from Bahrah¹³ to the north there is a hill. This hill, in the Zafar-nama, and some other books, is called the hill of Jud. At first, I was ignorant of the origin of its name, but afterwards discovered that in this hill there were two races of men

Nilab lies fifteen miles below Attok on the Sind.

^{8 &}quot;Nine horses." _P. de C.

Something less than £15 sterling.

The river of Kachah-kot is the Harru or river of Gharshin. By his ascending a pass so speedily after leaving the river, and by his reaching the Swan so soon, it appears that Babar turned sharp to the south after crossing the Harru.

^{11 (}P. de C. translates this "chamberlain.")

Or Swan, which lies between the Sind and Jilam.
Perhaps the Bhira, south of the Swan.

descended from the same father. One tribe is called Jud,

the other Janjuhah.....

As I always had the conquest of Hindustan at heart, and as the conquest of Bahrah, Khushab, Chinab and Chaniut¹⁴ among which I now was, had long been in the possession of the Turks, I regarded them as my own domains, and was resolved to acquire the possession of them either by war or peace. It was, therefore, right and necessary that the people of the hill should be well treated. I accordingly issued orders that no one should molest or trouble their flocks and herds, or take from them to the value of a bit of thread or a broken needle.

Marching thence rather late, about noon-day prayers, we reached Kaldah-kahar, where we halted. This Kaldah-kahar is a considerable place . . . At dawn we set out from Kaldah-kahar. On the very top of the Pass of Hambatu we met in different places men who were coming bringing in peshkashes of small value, and tendering their submission. . . . About luncheon time we reached the bottom of the pass, where we halted. . . Having cleared the pass, and emerged from the wooded ground, I formed the army in regular array, with right and left wing and centre, and marched towards Bahrah. When we had nearly reached that place, Deo Hindu,

15 (Kalrah-kahar in Sir H. Elliot's MS.; it is the pre-

sent Kallar-kahar).

the south-east of the Jilam or Hydaspes; but the district, in Babar's time, extended on both sides of the river, and the capital was to the north. Khushab lies lower down the river. Chinab probably stretched over to the river of that name, the ancient Acesines. No Chaniut can be found; perhaps it is Battiut, south-east of Attok, by a slight mistake in writing. Bahrah at this time belonged to 'Ali Khan, the son of Daulat Khan, Hakim of Lahore under the kings of Dehli.

BARI TIZAK-I BABARI TIZAK-I BABARI TIZAK-I BA 生动性性体系,但是一种生物性性性的一种生物性的一种生物性的一种。 THE THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPER LAUGHE BRITALIST CONTRACTOR BUILDING Addate at the solution of the HET HERESTELL TO THE TOTAL STREET HERESTELL TO THE PROPERTY OF THE THE THE TENT OF THE PARTY O Lighideddin da Clibbideddin da Clibbideddin da C ublinddydddiallinddialliddiaethiaethiaethiaethia ndedidentalisticala libration de la libration HalanHukhod/Illfalandukhod/IllfalanHukhod/Il dampellie Milen, dampellie Milen, dampellie Milen Cabellahulundel abellahulundel abellahulundi udf Kullub liluudf Kullub liluudf Kallub lilu ing pidens and sing pidens and sing pidens and s alierulikk roht alierulikk roht alierulikk roht a Militaria de la partición de Idian/landalan/landalan/landalah/landala Oastelfnete Africk Castelfnete Africk Oastelfnete Africk Fi

letokki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako H Letako kieletoki jako Hariketoko hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki ja Letako Hariketoki jako Hariketoko Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki j Latako Hariketoki jako Hariketoki "property; and collectors were appointed to receive the amount. . . . 19 Having learned that the troops had exercised some severities towards the inhabitants of Bahrah, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a tew of the soldiers that had been guilty of excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others, and made them to be led about the camp in that condition. As I reckoned the countries that had belonged to the Turks as my own territories, I therefore

admitted of no plundering or pilage. v

10 20 People were always saying that if ambassadors were to be sent in a friendly and peaceable way into the countries that had been occupied by the Turks, it could do no harm. I therefore despatched Mulla Murshid to Sultan Ibrahim, whose father Sultan Iskander had died five or six months before, and who had succeeded his father in the empire of Hindustan; and giving him the name and style of ambassador, sent him to demand that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Turks should be given up to me. Besides these letters for Sultan Ibrahim, I gave Mulla Murshid letters to Daulat Khan, and having also delivered to him verbal instructions, dismissed him on his mission. The people of Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans, are a strangely foolish and senseless race, possessed of little reflection and less foresight. They can neither persist in and manfully support a war nor can they continue in a state of amity and friendship.) This person, who was sent by me, Daulat Khan detained some time in

20 There is not a word of this paragraph in the

Jaghatai.

¹⁹ The Jaghatai version is as follows: "Having been informed that the soldiers were illtreating and plundering the people of Bahrah, I ordered some of my followers to chastise those who had been wanting in discipline."

Lahore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultan Ibrahim; so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kabul without having received any answer!

On Friday, letters of submission came from the people of Khushab . . . We remained one day in the fort of Bahrah, which they call Jahan-numa, and on the morning of Tuesday we marched, and encamped on the rising grounds which skirt along Bahrah towards the north.²¹ . . . Next morning, after the Diwan was dismissed, when I had finished my ride, I went on board

of a boat, and had a drinking party

In the hill country between Nilab and Bahrah, but apart from the tribes of Jud and Janjuhah, and adjoining to the hill country of Kashmir, are the Jats,22 Gujars, and many other men of similar tribes, who build villages, and settle on every hillock and in every valley. Their hakim was of the Gakkar race, and their government resembled that of the Jud and Janjuhah. The government of these tribes, which stretch along the skirt, of the hills, was at that time held by Tatar Gakkar and Hati Gakkar, sons of the same family; they were cousins. Their places of strength were situated on ravines and steep precipices. The name of Tatar's stronghold was Parhalah.23 It was considerably lower than the snowy mountains. Hati's country is close adjoining to the hills. Hati had also brought over to his interest Baba Khan, who held Kalinjar. Tatar Gakkar had waited on Daulat Khan, and was in a certain way subject to him. Hati had never visited him, but remained in an independent turbulent state. Tatar at the desire of the amirs of Hindustan, and in conjunction with

²¹ For "the north" the Jaghatai reads "Madl."
²² The Jagnatai reads "Jats".—See Elliot's Glossary,
i., 134.

²³ Pirala.—Jagh.

them, had taken a position with his army several miles off, and in some sort kept Hati in a state of blockade. At the very time when we were in Bahrah, Hati had advanced upon Tatar by a stratagem, had surprised and slain him, and taken his country, his women and all his

property

Having arranged the affairs of the country in such a way as to give a prospect of its being kept quiet, on Sunday, the '11th of the first Rabi', I marched from Bahrah on my return to Kabul... Some persons who were acquainted with the country, and with the political situation of the neighbouring territories, and particularly the Janjuhah, who were the old enemies of the Gakkars, represented to me that Hati the Gakkar had been guilty of many acts of violence, had infested the highways by his robberies,²⁴ and harassed the inhabitants; that therefore it was necessary either to effect his expulsion from this quarter, or, at least, to inflict on him exemplary punishment.

For effecting this object, next morning I left Khwajah Mir Miran and Miram Nasir in charge of the camp, and about breakfast time, set out with a body of light troops, to fall upon Hati Gakkar, who, a few days before, had killed Tatar, seized the country of Parhalah, and was now at Parhalah, as has been mentioned. About afternoon prayers we halted and baited our horses; and set off again about bed-time prayers. Our guide was a servant of the Malik-hast, named Surpa. He was a Gujar. All night long we proceeded straight on in our course, but halted towards morning, and sent on Beg Muhammd Mughal towards their camp. When it was beginning to be light, we again mounted; and about luncheon time²⁶ put on our armour and increased our

^{24 (}This sentence is not in the Jaghatai).

^{25 &}quot;Sarpa" in Jagh.

²⁶ Eleven o'clock.

speed. About a kos from the place where we had made this halt, Parhalah began to appear faintly in sight. The skirmishers were now pushed forward; the right wing proceeded to the east of Parhalah. Kuch Beg, who belonged to that wing was directed to follow in their rear, by way of reserve. The left wing and centre poured in straight towards Parhalah. Dost Beg was appointed to command the party charged to support the left wing and centre, who made the direct attack on Parhalah.

Parhalah, which stands high in the midst of deep valleys and ravines, has two roads leading to it; one of them on the south-east which was the road that we advanced by. This road runs along the edge of the ravines, and has ravines and precipices on both sides. Within half a kos of Parhalah, the road becomes extremely difficult, and continues so up to the very gates of the city; the ravine road, in four or five places, being so narrow and steep, that only one person can go along it at a time; and for about a bow-shot it is necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection. The other road is on the north-west.27 It advances towards Parhalah through the midst of an open valley. Except these two roads, there is no other on any side. Although the place has no breastwork nor battlement, yet it is so situated that it is not assailable. It is surrounded by a precipice seven or eight gaz28 in perpendicular height. The troops of the left wing having passed along the narrows. went pouring on towards the gate. Hati, with thirty or forty horsemen, all, both man and horse, in complete armour, accompanied by a number of foot soldiers, attacked and drove back the skirmishers. Dost Beg, who commanded the reserve, coming up, and falling on the enemy with great impetuosity, brought down a number

^{27 &}quot;Here also only one person can pass at a time."

—Jaghatai.

28 Fourteen or sixteen feet.

of them, and routed the rest. Hati Gakkar, who distinguished himself by his courage and firmness in the action, in spite of all his exertions, could not maintain his ground, and fled. He was unable to defend the narrows; and on reaching the fort, found that it was equally out of his power to defend himself there. The detachment which followed close on his heels having entered the fort along with him, Hati was compelled to make his escape, nearly alone, by the north-west entrance. Dost Beg, on this occasion, again greatly distinguished himself. I ordered an honorary gift to be given to him. At the same time I entered Parhalah, and took up my abode at Tatar's palace. During these operations, some men, who had been ordered to remain with me, had joined the skirmishing party. Among them were Amin Muhammad Karashi and Tarkhan Arghun. In order to punish them for this offence, I gave them the Gujar Surpa²⁹ for their guide, and turned them out disgracefully³⁰ into the deserts and wilds to find their way back to the camp

On Thursday the 15th we halted at Andarabah, which lies on the banks of the river Suhan. This fort of Andarabah depended from old times on the father of Malik-hast. When Hati Gakkar slew Malik-hast's father, it had been destroyed, and had remained in ruins ever since Hati, after despatching Tatar, had sent to me one Parbat, his relation, with a caparisoned horse and peshkash. He did not meet me, but fell in with that part of the army that had been left behind with the camp; and having arrived along with the division that accompanied the baggage, now presented his offerings and tribute, and tendered his submission. Langar Khan, who was to be left behind in Bahrah, but who had accompanied the camp in order to finish some business,

²⁹ Here it is "Saropa" in the Jaghatai.

³⁰ Besar-o-pa, destitute, without provisions.

also rejoined me; and having brought everything to a conclusion, took leave on his return to Bahrah, accompanied by some zamindars of that district. After this we marched on, crossed the river Suhan, and encamped on a rising ground. I gave a dress of honour to Parbat, Hati Khan's relation; and having written letters to confirm Hati in his good intentions, and to remove any misapprehensions he might entertain, despatched Parbat in company with a servant of Muhammad 'Ali Jang-

jang. . . .

(Marching at the time when the kettle-drum beats,31 we halted about luncheon time at the foot of the pass. of Sangdaki. About noon-day prayers we renewed our march, and ascended the pass, crossed the river, and halted on an eminence; we again set out at midnight. In going to examine the ford by which we had passed on our way to Bahrah, we found a raft32 loaded with grain, that had stuck fast in the mud and clay; the owners with all their exertions had not been able to extricate it. We seized this corn, and divided it among the men who were with us; the grain came very seasonably. Towards evening we halted lower down33 than the junction of the Sind and Kabul rivers, and higher up than the old Nilab, between the two.34 We brought six boats from Nilab, and divided them among the right and left wings and centre, who immediately began to exert themselves in crossing the river. On Monday, being the day on which we arrived, and the night following, and on Tuesday and the night following till Wednesday, they continued passing; on Thursday, also, a few passed. J

Parbat, Hati's relation, who had been sent from the

³¹ That is, an hour before day.

³² Jalah.

³³ This was probably at the Attok pass.

Jaghatai.

neighbourhood of Andarabah with the servant of Muhammad 'Ali Jang-jang, returned to us, while we were on the banks of the river, bringing from Hati a horse clad in armour, by way of tributary offering. The inhabitants of Nilab brought an armed horse as a peshkash, and tendered their submission. Muhammad 'Ali Jang-jang, having a wish to remain in Bahrah, and Bahrah itself having been given to Hindu Beg, I bestowed on him the tract of country between Bahrah and the Sind, with the ils and uluses in the district, such as the Karluk Hazaras, and Hati and Ghiyasdal³⁵ and Kib.

On Thursday, at sunrise (March 24th, 1519), we moved from the banks of the river, and resumed our march (and on the 30th March) I reached Kabul.

THE LAST AND SUCCESSFUL INVASION

On Friday, the 1st of Safar, in the year 932 (November 17th, 1525), when the sun was in Sagittarius, I set out on

my march to invade Hindustan.

after the third, on Thursday, the 26th, we encamped on the banks of the river Sind. On Saturday, the 1st day of the first Rabi,' we passed the Sind; and having also crossed the river of Kach-kot, halted on its banks. The Begs, paymasters and diwans, who had been placed to super-

35" The Giyas, the Al." _ Jagh.

given in the Persian version: "Having left Bikram, I advanced through a heavy rain to the banks of the Kabul river, where I halted. Here I received news from Hindustan that Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan, at the head of an army of twenty or thirty thousand men, had taken possession of Kalatur and were already marching on Lahore. I sent off Mumin Ali Tawachi in great haste to inform them that we were advancing by forced marches, and that they must avoid giving battle before our arrival."

intend the embarkation, brought me the return of the troops who were on the service. Great and small, good and bad, servants and no servants, they amounted to

12,000 persons.

To secure a proper supply of corn, we advanced, along the skirts of the hills towards Sialkot. On coming opposite to the country of the Gakkars, in the bed of a brook, we found in several places a quantity of standing water. These waters were entirely frozen over. Although there was not much of it, the ice was in general a span in thickness. In Hindustan such ice is uncommon. We met with it here; but during all the years³⁷ I have been in Hindustan, I have in no other instance met with any trace of ice or snow.

Advancing five marches from the Sind, the sixth brought us close by the Hill of Jud, below the hill of Balinat-jogi, on the banks of a river, at the station of Bakialan, where we encamped Marching thence we halted, after passing the river Behat, below Jilam, by the ford From this encampment I sent forward Saiyid Tufan and Saiyid Lachin, giving each of them a spare horse, with directions to push on with all speed to Lahore, and to enjoin on our troops in that city not to fight, but to form a junction with me at Sialkot or Parsarur. The general report was, that Ghazi Khan had collected an army of 30,000 or 40,000 men; that Daulat Khan, old as he was, had buckled on two swords; and that they would certainly try the fate of a battle. I recollected the proverb which says, "Ten friends are better than nine." That no advantage might be lost, I judged it most advisible before fighting to form a junction with the

³⁷This passage must have been written not long before Babar's death, (and shows, either that these Memoirs were reminiscences rather than contemporaneous memoirs of his life; or that if they were contemporaneous memoirs they were retouched and revised at a later period.)

detachment of my army that was in Lahore. I therefore sent on messengers with instructions to the amirs, and at the second march reached the banks of the river Chinab.

On Frid

On Friday, the 14th of the first Rabi,' we arrived at Sialkot. Every time that I have entered Hindustan, the Jats38 and Gujars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches. that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression in the country. These districts, in former times, had been in a state of revolt, and yielded very little revenue that could be come at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices. As my poor people were on their way from Sialkot to the camp, hungry and naked, indigent and in distress, they were fallen upon by the road with loud shouts, and plundered.39 I sought out the persons guilty of this outrage, discovered them, and ordered two of three of the number to be cut in pieces.40

of the Panjab, the banks of the Indus, Siwistan, etc. and must not be confounded with the Jats, a powerful Hindu tribe to the west of the Jumna about Agra etc., and which occupies a subordinate station in the country of the Rajputs. (See Sir H. Elliot's Glossary, s.v. Jat).

39 The People alluded to were probably the Turki

garrison of Sialkot.

⁴⁰(From the "Jaghatai." "While I was at Sialkot I sent in great haste Shahum and Nur Beg to the Begs of Lahore, instructing them to get information about the position of the enemy, and when they had ascertained, from some one well acquainted with the country, where they could form a junction with me, they were to inform me.")

At this same station a merchant arrived, who brought us the news of the defeat of 'Alim Khan41 by Sultan Ibrahim. The particulars are as follows: 'Alim Khan, after taking leave of me, had marched forward in spite of the scorching heat of the weather, and had reached Lahore, having, without any consideration for those who accompanied him, gone two stages every march. At the very moment that 'Alim Khan took leave, the whole Sultans and Khans of the Uzbeks had advanced and blockaded Balkh; so that immediately on his departure for Hindustan, I was obliged to set out for that city. 'Alim Khan, on reaching Lahore, insisted with such of my Begs as were in Hindustan' that the Emperor had ordered them to march to his assistance, and that it had been concerted that Ghazi Khan should likewise join him, and that they were all in conjunction to march upon Dehli and Agra. The Begs answered, that situated as things were, they could not accompany Ghazi Khan with any kind of confidence; but that if he sent to Court his younger brother Haji Khan, with his son, or placed them in Lahore as hostages, their instructions would then leave them at liberty to march along with him; that otherwise they could not; that it was only the other day that 'Alim Khan had fought and been defeated by Ghazi Khan, so that no mutual confidence was to be looked for between them; and that altogether it was by no means advisable for 'Alim Khan to let Ghazi Khan accompany him in the expedition. Whatever expostulations of this nature they employed, in order to dissuade 'Alim Khan from prosecuting his plan, were all ineffectual. He sent his son Shir Khan to confer with Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan, and the parties themselves afterwards met. Dilwar Khan, who had been in confinement very recently, and who had escaped from custody and come to Lahore only two or three months before, was likewise associated with

^{41&#}x27; Alim Khan is 'Alau-d din Khan.

them. Mahmud Khan Khan-Jahan, to whom the custody of Lahore had been intrusted, was also pressed into their measures. In a word, it was in the end definitively arranged among them, that Daulat Khan, and Ghazi Khan should take under their orders all the Begs who had been left in Hindustan, and should, at the same time themselves assume the government of all the adjacent territories;42 while Dilawar Khan and Haji Khan were to accompany 'Alim Khan, and occupy the whole of the country about Dehli and Agra, and in that neighbourhood. Ismail Jilwani,43 and a number of other amirs, waited on 'Alim Khan, and acknowledged him. He now proceeded towards Dehli without delay by forced marches. On reaching Indari, Sulaiman Shaikhzada, came and likewise joined him. The numbers of the confederate army now amounted to 30,000 or 40,000 men. They laid seige to Dehli, but were unable either to take the place by storm or to reduce it by famine.

Sultan Ibrahim, as soon as he heard that they had collected an army, and invaded his dominions, led his troops to oppose them. Having notice of his march as he approached, they raised the seige and advanced to meet him. The confederates concurred in opinion, that if the battle was fought in the daytime, the Afghans, from regard to their reputation with their countrymen, would not flee; but that if the attack was made by night, the night is dark, and no one seeing another, each chief would shift for himself. Resolving, therefore, to attempt a night surprise, they mounted to proceed against the enemy, who were six kos off. Twice did they mount their horses at noon, and continue mounted till the second or third watch of the night, without going either back or forward, not being able to come to a resolution or agree among themselves. The third time they set out

⁴²That is, in the Panjab or near Lahore.
⁴³("Alwani."—Jagh).

for their surprise, when only one watch of the night remained. Their plan was merely for the party to set fire to the tents and pavillions, and to attempt nothing further. They acorodingly advanced and set fire to the tents during the last watch of the night, at the same time shouting the war-cry. Jalal Khan Jaghat, and several other amirs, came over and acknowledged 'Alim Khan. Sultan Ibrahim, attended by a body of men, composed of his own tribe and family, did not move from the royal pavilion, but continued steady in the same place till morning. By this time, the troops who accompanied 'Alim Khan were dispersed, being busy plundering and pillaging. Sultan Ibrahim's troops perceived that the enemy were not in great force, and immediately moved forward from the station which they had kept, though very few in number, and having only a single elephant: but no sooner had the elephant come up than 'Alim Khan's men took to flight, without attempting to keep their ground. In the course of his flight 'Alim Khan crossed over the Doab side of the river, and again recrossed it towards Panipat, on reaching which place he contrived by a stratagem to get three or four lacs11 from Mian Sulaiman,45 and went on his way. Isma'il Jilwani, Babin, and Jalal Khan, the eldest son of 'Alim Khan, separating from him betook themselves to the Doab. A small part of the army which 'Alim Khan had collected, such as Saifu-d din, Darya Khan, Mahmud Khan Khan-Jahan, Shaikh Jamal Farmuli, and some others, deserted before the battle and joined Ibrahim. 'Alim Khan and Dilawar Khan, with Haji Khan, after passing Sirhind, 16 heard of my approach and that I had taken whereupon Dilawar Khan, who had always been attached

¹¹£750 or £1,000; but perhaps they were lacs of rupees.

⁴⁵ Probably a rich shroff, or banker.

^{46 (}Here spelt in the old way "Sihrind.").

to my interests, and had been detained three or four months in prison on my account, separated from the others, came on by way of Sultanpur and Kochi, and waited upon me in the neighbourhood of Milwat, three or four days after the taking of that town. 'Alim Khan and Haji Khan having passed the river Satlet,47 at length reached Kinkuta, the name of a strong castle in the hills between Dun and the plain, and threw themselves into it. One of my detachments, consisting of Afghans and Hazaras, happening to come up, blockaded them and had nearly succeeded in taking the castle, strong as it was, being only prevented by the approach of night. These noblemen then made an attempt to leave it, but some of their horses having fallen in the gateway, they could not get out. Some elephants that were along with them were pushed forward, and trampled upon and killed a number of the horses. Although unable to escape on horseback, they left the place during a dark night on foot, and after incredible sufferings, joined Ghazi Khan, who, in the course of his flight, finding that he could not get refuge in Milwat, had directed his course towards the hills, where they met. Ghazi Khan did not give 'Alim Khan a very friendly reception, which induced him to wait on me, below Dun in the neighbourhood of Palhur,48 where he came and tendered me his allegiance. While I was at Sialkot, some of the troops whom I had left in Lahore, arrived to inform me that they would all be up by the morning.

Next morning, I marched and halted at Parsarur, where Muhammad 'Ali Jang-Jang, Khwaja Husain, and some others, 49 accordingly came and waited on me. As the enemy's camp was on the banks of the Ravi, towards

^{47 (}Satlej).

^{48(&}quot;Bilur" in the Jaghatai).

⁴⁹ These noblemen had been left with a body of troops to defend the Panjab.

Lahore, I sent out Bujkah with his party to reconnoitre and bring in intelligence. About the end of the third watch of the night they came back with information that the enemy, immediately on getting notice of their approach, had fled away in consternation, every man shifting for himself.

On the following morning, leaving Shah Mir Husain, and some other officers, to guard the camp and baggage, I seperated from them and pushed on with all possible speed. We reached Kalanur about the middle of afternoon prayears and halted. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, 'Adil Sultan, and the other amirs, came here and waited on me.

Marching before daybreak from Kalanur,50 we discovered on the road certain traces that Ghazi Khan and the fugitives were not far off. Muhammadi and Ahmadi, with several of the Begs about my person, whom I had recently at Kabul promoted to the rank of Beg, were detached to pursue the fugitives without halting. Their orders were, that, if they could overtake the flying enemy, it was well; but, if not, they should carefully guard every approach and issue of the fort of Milwat, that the garrison might not be able to effect their escape. Ghazi Khan was the object that I principally aimed at in these instructions. Having sent forward this detachment under the Begs, we crossed the river Biyah opposite to Kanwahin, and there halted. From thence, after three marches, we encamped in the mouth of the valley in which lies the fort of Milwat. The Begs, who had arrived before us, and the amirs of Hindustan, were directed to encamp and lay siege to the fort. Ismail Khan, who was Daulat Khan's grandson (being the son of 'Ali Khan, Daulat Khan's eldest son), having arrived in our quarters, was sent into the fort to offer terms of capitulation, and with a message in which we mingled promises and threats. On Friday I made the camp ad-

⁵⁰ Kalanur lies half-way between the Ravi and Biyah.

vance, and take ground half a kos nearer.⁵¹ I myself went out, reconnoitred the fort, and after having assigned to the right and left wing, and to the centre, their

respective stations, returned back to the camp.

Daulat Khan now sent a person to inform me that Ghazi Khan had escaped and fled to the hills; but that if I would excuse his own offences, he would come as a slave and deliver up the place. I therefore sent Khwaja Mir Miran to confirm him in his resolution, and to bring him out. His son 'Ali Khan, accompanied that officer. In order to expose the rudeness and stupidity of the old man, I directed him to take care that Daulat Khan should come out with the same two swords hung round his neck, which he had hung by his side to meet me in combat. When matters had come this length he still contrived frivolous pretexts for delay, but was at length brought out. I ordered the two swords to be taken from his neck. When he came to offer me obeisance, he affected delays in bowing; I directed them to push his leg and make him bow. I then made him sit down before me, and desired a man who understood the Hindustani language to explain to him what I said, sentence by sentence, in order to re-assure him; and to tell him-"I called you Father; I showed you more respect and reverence than you could have desired or expected. The countries held by Tatar Khan, to the amount of three krors, I bestowed on you. What evil have I ever done you, that you should come in this style against me?" ... It was settled that he and his family should retain their authority in their own tribes and possession of their villages,52 but that all the rest. of their property should be sequestrated.

51(At half a kos from the place.—Jagh).
52(Instead of this, the "Jaghatai," says, "The free disposal of the people of their houses, and of their families.").

'Abdul 'Aziz and . . . with several other of the Begs about my person were directed to enter the fort, and to take possession of and secure their treasures and all their property I examined Ghazi Khan's library, and found in it a number of valuable books. . . . There was also a number of theological books, but I did not, on the whole, find so many books of value as, from their appearance, I had expected.

I stayed in the fort all night, and next morning returned to the camp. We had been mistaken in imagining that Ghazi Khan was in the fort. The traitorous coward had escaped to the hills, with a small number of followers, leaving his father, his elder and younger brothers, his mother, his elder and younger sisters in Milwat. . . .

After advancing one kos from the station at the gorge of Milwat, we halted in a valley. . . . I gave the fort of Milwat to Muhammad 'Ali Jang-Jang, who left his brother Arghun in the place on his part with a body of troops. . . .

Marching thence, and passing the small hills of Ab-kand by Milwat, we reached Dun. In the language

of Hindustan they call a Julga (or dale) Dun

As we could nowhere get any certain intelligence of Ghazi Khan, I sent Tardika with Barim Deo Malinhat⁵³ with orders to pursue him wherever he might go; to engage him, and bring him back a prisoner. In the country, composed of small hills, that has been mentioned as lying around the Dun, there are some wonderfully strong castles. To the north-east is a castle called Kutila. It is surrounded by a rock seventy or eighty gaz⁵⁴ in perpendicular height. At its chief gate, for the space of about seven or eight gaz,⁵⁵ there is a place that admits of a drawbridge being thrown across. It may be ten or

^{53(&}quot;Mihrim and Div Milhas."—Jagh).
54That is 140 or 160 feet.

⁵⁵ Fourteen or sixteen feet.

twelve gaz wide. The bridge is composed of two long planks, by which their horses and flocks pass out and in. This was one of the forts of the hill country, which Ghazi Khan had put into a state of defence and garrisoned. The detachment that had been pushed on attacked the place vigorously, and had nearly taken it, when night came on. The Garrison then abandoned the castle and fled away. Near the Dun is another strong castle, called the fort of Kinkuta, the country around which is all hilly, but it is not so strong as the former. 'Alim Khan in his flight had thrown himself into this fort, as has been already mentioned.

After sending a detachment in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, I placed my foot in the stirrup of resolution, and my hand on the reins of confidence in God, and marched against Sultan Ibrahim, the son of Sultan Iskandar, the son of Sultan Bahlol Lodi Afghan, in whose possession the throne of Dehli and the dominions of Hindustan at that time were; whose army in the field was said to amount to 100,000 men, and who, including those of his

amirs, had nearly 1.00056 elephants. . . .

The detachment which had proceeded into Milwat⁵⁷ advanced against Harur, Kahlur and the forts in that part of the country, among which, from the natural strength of the ground, no enemy had penetrated for a long time before, took the whole of them and returned and joined me, after having plundered the inhabitants of the district. It was at this time that 'Alim Khan, being reduced to great distress, came naked and on foot to meet me. I directed several Begs and some noblemen of my Court to go out to receive him, and also sent him some horses. He waited upon me in this neighbourhood, and made his submission. . . .

57" Which had left me at Milwat."—Jagh.

⁵⁶The "Jaghatai" has the more reasonable number, "100." In this Firishta agrees.

After marching from Dun we came to Rupur. While we stayed at Rupur it rained incessantly, and was so extremely cold that many of the starving and hungry Hindustanis died. After marching from Rupur, we had halted at Karil⁵⁸ opposite to Sihrind (Sirhind), when a Hindustani presented himself, assuming the style of an ambassador from Sultan Ibrahim. Though he had no letters or credentials, yet as he requested that one of my people might accompany him back as my ambassador. I accordingly did send back a Sawadi Tinkatar⁵⁹ along with him. These poor men had no sooner arrived in Ibrahim's camp than he ordered them both to be thrown into prison. The very day that we defeated Ibrahim, the Sawadi was set at liberty and waited on me.

After two marches more we halted on the banks of the stream of Banur and Sanur. This is a running water, of which there are few in Hindustan, except large rivers. They call it the stream of Kagar. Chitar stands on its banks. . . At this station we had information that Sultan Ibrahim, who lay on this side of Dehli, was advancing; and that the shikkdar⁶⁰ of Hisar-Firozah, Hamid Khan Khasah-khail, had also advanced ten or fifteen kos towards us, with the army of Hisar-Firozah and of the neighbouring districts. I sent on Kittah Beg towards Ibrahim's camp to procure intelligence, and despatched Mumin Atkah towards the army of Hisar-Firozah to get notice of its motions.

On Sunday, the 13th of the first Jumada, I marched

58"Karmal."—Jagh.

and has often the chief authority in a district.

seems to have been a confidential servant, perhaps connected with the "tan" or private treasury. (Pavet de Courteille translates it as "one or two sawadis, of my body-guard."

from Ambala, and had halted on the margin of a tank, when Mumin Atkah and Kittah Beg both returned on the same day. The command of the whole right wing I gave to Humayun, who was accompanied by Next morning, being Monday, the 14th, Humayun set out with his light force to attack Hamid Khan by surprise. Humayun despatched on before him 100 or 150 select men, by way of advanced guard. On coming near the enemy, this advanced body went close up to them, hung upon their flanks, and had one or two rencounters till the troops of Humayun appeared in sight following them. No sooner were they perceived than the enemy took to flight. Our troops brought down 100 or 200 men, cut off the heads of one half, and brought the other half alive into the camp, along with seven or eight elephants...On Monday, the 21st, Humayun reached the camp that was still at the same station, with 100 prisoners and seven or eight elephants, and waited on me. I ordered Ustad 'Ali Kuli and the matchlockmen to shoot all the prisoners as an example. This was Humayun's first expedition, and the first service he had seen. It was a very good omen. Some light troops having followed the fugitives, took Hisar-Firozah the moment they reached it, and returned after plundering it. Hisar-Firozah which, with its dependencies and subordinate districts, yielded a kror, I bestowed on Humayun, with a kror in money as a present.

Marching from that station, we reached Shahabad. I sent fit persons towards Sultan Ibrahim's camp to procure intelligence, and halted several days in this station.

... In this station, on Monday, the 28th of the first Jumada, the sun entered Aries; we now began also to receive repeated information from Ibrahim's camp, that he was advancing slowly by a kos or two at a time, and halting two or three days at each station. I, on my side, likewise moved on to meet him, and after the second march from Shahabad, encamped on the banks of the

Jumna, opposite to Sirsawah. Haidar Kuli, a servant of Khwaja Kilan, was sent out to procure intelligence. I crossed the Jumna by a ford, and went to see Sirsawah. . . .

From this station we held down the river for two marches, keeping close along its banks, when Haidar Kuli, who had been sent out to collect intelligence, returned, bringing information that Daud Khan and Haitim Khan had been sent across the river into the Doab with 6,000 or 7,000 horse, and had encamped three or four kos in advance of Ibrahim's position on the road towards us. On Sunday, the 18th of the second Jumada, I despatched against this column Chin Timur Sultan, . . . with the whole of the left wing commanded by Sultan Junid, . . . as well as part of the centre under Yunas 'Ali, . . . with instructions to advance rapidly and fall upon them by surprise. . . . Next morning, about the time of early prayers, they arrived close upon the enemy, who put themselves in some kind of order, and marched out to meet them: but our troops no sooner came up than the enemy fled, and were followed in close pursuit and slaughtered all the way to the limits of Ibrahim's camp. The detachment took Haitim Khan, Daud Khan's eldest brother, and one of the generals, with seventy or eighty prisoners, and six or eight elephants, all of which they brought in when they waited on me. Several of the prisoners were put to death, to strike terror into the enemy.

Marching thence, I arranged the whole army in order of battle, with right and left wing and centre, and after reviewing it, performed the vim. The custom of the vim is, that the whole army being mounted, the commander takes a bow or whip in his hand, and guesses at the number of the army, according to a fashion in use, and in conformity with which they affirm that the army

Jaghatai).

may be so many. The number that I guessed was greater

than the army turned out to be.

At this station I directed that, according to the custom of Rum,62 the gun-carriages63 should be connected together with twisted bull-hides, as with chains. Between every two gun-carriages were six or seven turas64 or breast-works. The matchlockmen stood behind these guns, or turas, and discharged their matchlocks. I halted five or six days in this camp, for the purpose of getting this apparatus arranged. After every part of it was in order and ready, I called together all the amirs, and men of any experience and knowledge, and held a general council. It was settled that as Panipat was a considerable city, it would cover one of our flanks by its buildings and houses, while we might fortify our front by turas, or covered defences and cannon, and that the matchlockmen and infantry should be placed in the rear of the guns and turas. With this resolution we moved, and in two marches, on Thursday, the 30th of the last Jumada, reached Panipat. On our right were the town and suburbs. In my front I placed the guns and turas

62That is, of the Ottomans.
63M. de Courteille's version of this passage is as attacher less uns aux aulres les chariots a la maniere does chariots, chacun suivant ses moyens. On en reunit ainsi sept cents. Alors j' ordonnais a Ustad Ali Kuli de faire attacher les uns aux autres les chariots a la maniere des peuples de Roum (les Ottomans), en y suspendant, au lieu de chaines des cordes de peau de boeuf." "Wherever "guns" are mentioned in this passage, he has "chariots."

64 (Vullers gives the following definition of "tora" or "torah," "Genus plutei, quo milites pro clipeis utebantur, quemque etiam in terram infigebant, ut quasi vallo muniti tela in hostes mittere possent." Badauni (vol. i. p. 334) says they were tubras, or sacks, filled with earth. See also Yule's "Marco Polo," vol. ii., 122). which had been prepared. On the left, and in different other points, we drew ditches and made defences of the boughs of trees. At the distance of every bowshot, a space was left large enough for 100 or 150 men to issue forth. Many of the troops were in great tremor and alarm. Trepidation and fear are always unbecoming. Whatsoever Almighty God has decreed from all eternity cannot be reversed; though, at the same time, I cannot greatly blame them; they had some reason; for they had come two or three months' journey from their own country; we had to engage in arms a strange nation, whose language we did not understand, and who did not understand ours.

The army of the enemy opposed to us was estimated at 100,000 men; the elephants of the Emperor and his officers were said to amount to nearly 1,000.65 He possessed the accumulated treasures of his father and grandfather, in current coin, ready for use. It is a usage in Hindustan, in situations similar to that in which the enemy now were, to expend sums of money in bringing together troops who engage to serve for hire. These men are called Badhindi. Had he chosen to adopt this plan, he might have engaged 100,000 or 200,000 more troops. But God Almighty directed everything for the best. He had not the heart to satisfy even his own army; and would not part with any of his treasure. Indeed, how was it possible that he should satisfy his troops, when he was himself miserly to the last degree, beyond measure avaricious in accumulating pelf? He was a young man of no experience. He was negligent in all his movements; he marched without order; retired or halted without plan, and engaged in battle without foresight. While the troops were fortifying their position in Panipat, and its vicinity, with guns, branches of trees, and

[&]quot;100." again reduces the number to

ditches, Darwesh Muhammad Sarban said to me, "You have fortified our ground in such a way that it is not possible he should ever think of coming here." I answered, "You judge of him by the Khans and Sultans of the Uzbeks. But you must not judge of our present enemies by those who were then opposed to us. They have not ability to discriminate when it is proper to advance and when to retreat." God brought everything to pass favourably. It happened as I foretold. During the seven or eight days we remained in Panipat, a very small party of my men, advancing close up to their encampment and to their vastly superior force, discharged arrows upon them. They did not, however, move or make any demonstration of sallying out. At length, induced by the persuasion of some Hindustani amirs in my interest, I sent Mahdi Khwaja and with 4,000 or 5,000 men on a night attack. They did not assemble properly in the first instance, and as they marched out in confusion, did not get on well. The day dawned, yet they continued lingering near the enemy's camp till it was broad daylight, when the enemy, on their side, beat their kettledrums, got ready their elephants, and marched out upon them. Although our people did not effect anything yet, in spite of the multitude of troops that hung upon them in their retreat, they returned safe and sound without the loss of a man. Muhammad 'Ali Jang-Jang was wounded with an arrow, and though the wound was not mortal, yet it disabled him from taking his place in the day of battle. On learning what had occurred, I immediately detached Humayun with his division a kos or a kos and a half in advance, to cover their retreat, while I myself, remaining with the army, drew it out, and got in readiness for action. The party which had marched to surprise the enemy fell in with Humayun and returned with him. As none of the enemy came near us, I drew off the army, and led it back to the camp. In the course of the night we had a false

alarm; for nearly one ghari the call to arms and the uproar continued. Such of the troops as had never before witnessed an alarm of the kind were in great confusion and dismay. In a short time, however, the alarm subsided.

By the time of early morning prayers, when the light was such that you could distinguish one, object from another, notice was brought from the advanced patrols, that the enemy were advancing, drawn up in order of battle. We too, immediately braced on our helmets and our armour, and mounted. The right division was led by Humayun, accompanied by. . . ; the left division was commanded by Muhammad Sultan Mirza. The right of the centre was commanded by Chin Timur Sultan ; the left of the centre by Khalifa. . . . The advance was led by Khursu Gokultash 'Abdu-l 'Aziz, master of horse, had the command of the reserve. On the flank of the right division I stationed Wali Kizil, with their Mughals, to act as a tulughmah, (or flanking party). On the extremity of the left division were stationed Kara-Kuzi . . . to form the tulughmah or flankers, with instructions, that as soon as the enemy approached sufficiently near, they should take a circuit and come round upon their rear.

When the enemy first came in sight, they seemed to bend their force most against the right division. I therefore detached 'Abdu-l 'Aziz, who was stationed with the reserve, to reinforce the right. Sultan Ibrahim's army, from the time it first appeared in sight, never made a halt, but advanced right upon us at a quick space. When they came closer, and, on getting a view of my troops, found them drawn up in the order and with the defences that have been mentioned, they were brought up, and stood for a while as if considering, "Shall we halt or not? shall we advance or not?" They could not halt, and they were unable to advance with the same speed as before. I sent orders to the troops stationed as flankers

on the extremes of the right and left divisions, to wheel round the enemy's flank with all possible speed, and instantly to attack them in the rear; the right and left. divisions were also ordered to charge the enemy. The flankers accordingly wheeled on the rear of the enemy, and began to make discharge of arrows on them. Mahdi Khwaja came up before the rest of the left wing. A body of men with one elephant advanced to meet him. My troops gave them some sharp discharges of arrows, and the enemy's division was at last driven back. I despatched from the main body Ahmadi Parwanchi to the assistance of the left division. 'The battle was likewise obstinate on the right. I ordered Muhammadi Gokultash . . . to advance in front of the centre and engage. Ustad 'Ali Kuli also discharged his guns66 many times in front of the line to good purpose. Mustafa, the cannoneer, on the left of the centre, managed his artillery67 with great effect. The right and left divisions, the centre and flankers. having surrounded the enemy and taken them in rear, were now engaged in hot conflict, and busy pouring in discharges of arrows on them. They made one or two very poor charges on our right and left divisions. My troops, making use of their bows, plied them with arrows, and drove them in upon their centre. The troops on the right and left of their and the rite trains of the same ments were in

66"Firingiha." The size of these artillery at the time in question is very uncertain. The word is now used in the Dekhin for a swivel. In common usage, zarbzin, at the present day, is a small species of swivel. Both words, in the time of Babar, appear to have been used for field cannon (Pavet de Courteille translates it "pierriers," i.e. the former veries because on a supercondiswivels.

67M. Pavet de Courteille's version is "faisait un feu meurtrier avec son artillerie attelee;" to which he appends the note, "mot a mot, les couleuvrines qui etaient sur des chariots."

centre being huddled together in one place, such confusion ensued, that the enemy, while totally unable to advance, found also no road by which they could flee. The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset of battle began, and the combat lasted till mid-day, when the enemy were completely Broken and routed, and my friends victorious and exulting. By the grace and mercy of Almighty God, this arduous undertaking was rendered easy for me, and this mighty army, in the space of half a day, laid in the dust. Five or six thousand men were discovered lying slain in one spot near Ibrahim. We reckoned that the number lying slain in different parts of the field of battle, amounted to 15,000 of 16,000 men. On reaching Agra, we found from the accounts of the people of Hindustan, that 40,000 or 50,000 men had fallen in this field. After routing the enemy, we continued the pursuit, slaughtering and making them prisoners. Those who were ahead began to bring in the amirs and Afghans as prisoners.* They brought in a very great number of elephants, with their drivers, and offered them to me as peshkash. Having pursued the enemy to some distance, and supposing that Ibrahim had escaped from the battle, I appointed Kismai Mirza, . . . with a party of my immediate adherents, to follow him in close pursuit down as far as Agra. Having passed through the middle of Ibrahim's camp, and visited his pavilions and accommodations, we encamped on the banks of the Siyah-ab (Kalini).

It was now afternoon prayers when Tahir Tabari, the younger brother of Khalifa, having found Ibrahimlying dead amidst a number of slain, cut off his head,

and brought it in.

That very day I directed Humayun Mirza . . . to set out without baggage or encumbrances, and proceed with all possible expedition to occupy Agra, and take possession of the treasuries. I at the same time ordered Mahdi Khwaja and to leave their baggage to push.

on by forced marches, to enter the fort of Dehli, and seize the treasuries.

Next morning we marched, and having proceeded about a kos, halted on the banks of the Jumna, in order to refresh our horses. After other two marches, on Tuesday I visited the mausoleum of Nizam Auliya,68 and at the end of the third march encamped near Dehli, on the banks of the Jumna. The same night being Wednesday, I circumambulated the tomb of Khwaja Kutbu-d din, and visited the tomb and palaces of Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Balban, of Sultan 'Alau-d din Khilji, and his minaret, the Shams tank, the royal tank, the tombs and gardens of Sultan Bahlol and Sultan Sikandar, after which I returned into the camp, and went on board of a boat, where we drunk arak. I bestowed the office of shikkdar (or military collector) of Dehli on Wali Kizil; I made Dost the diwan of Dehli, and directed the different treasuries to be sealed and given into their charge.

On Thursday we moved thence, and halted hard by Tughlikabad⁶⁹ on the banks of the Jumna. On Friday we continued to halt in the same station. Maulana Mahmud, Shaikh Zain, and some others went into Dehli to Friday prayers, read the *khutba*, in my name, distributed some money among the *fakirs* and beggars, and then returned back. On Saturday we marched from our ground, and proceeded, march after march, upon Agra. I went and saw Tughlikabad; after which I rejoined the

camp.

On Friday, the 22nd Rajab, I halted in the suburbs of Agra, at the palace of Sulaiman Farmuli. As this position was very far from the fort, I next morning moved and took up my quarters at the palace of Jalal Khan

69 Tughlikabad stood to the south of Dehli, between the Kuth-minar and the Jumna.

⁶⁸The mausoleum of Nizamu-d din Auliya is within four or five miles of Dehli, on the south.

Jaghat. The people of the fort had put off Humayun, who arrived before me, with excuses; and he, on his part, considering that they were under no control, and wishing to prevent their plundering the treasure, had taken a position to shut up the issues from the

place.

Bikramajit, a Hindu, who was Raja of Gwalior, had governed that country for upwards of 100 years.70 Sikandar had remained several years⁷¹ in Agra, employed in an attempt to take Gwalior. Afterwards, in the reign of Ibrahim, 'Azim Humayun Sirwan invested it for some time, made several attacks, and at length succeeded in gaining it by treaty, Shamsabad being given as an indemnification. In the battle in which Ibrahim was defeated, Bikramajit was sent to hell.72 Bikramajit's family, and the heads, of his clan, were at this moment in Agra. When Humayun arrived, Bikramajit's people attempted to escape, but were taken by the parties which Humayun had placed upon the watch, and put in custody. Humayun did not permit them to be plundered. Of their own free will they offered Humayun a peshkash, consisting of a quantity of jewels and precious stones. Among these was one famous diamond, which had been acquired by Sultan 'Alau-d din. It is so valuable that a judge of diamonds valued it at half of the daily expense of the whole world.⁷³ It is about eight miskals. On my arrival Humayun presented it to me as a peshkash, and I gave it back to him as a present. . . .

A pargana of the value of seven lacs was bestowed

71"One year."—Jagh.

12 The charitable mode in which a good Muslim

signifies the death of an infidel.

Tavernier valued it at £880,000 sterling. See Erskine's "Babar and Humayun," vol. i., p. 438.

^{70&}quot;Whose family had reigned there more than 100 years."—Jagh.

on Ibrahim's mother. Parganas were also given to each of her amirs. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace, which was assigned for her residence, about a

kos below Agra.
On Thursday, the 28th Rajab, about the hour of afternoon prayers I entered Agra, and took up my residence in Sultan Ibrahim's palace. From the time when I conquered the country of Kabul, which was in the year 910, till the present time, I had always been bent on subduing Hindustan. Sometimes, however, from the misconduct of my amirs and their dislike of the plan, sometimes from the cabals and opposition of my brothers. I was prevented from prosecuting any expedition into that country, and its provinces escaped being overrun. At length these obstacles were removed. There was now no one left, great or small, noble or private man, who could dare to utter a word in opposition to the enterprise. In the year 925 I collected an army, and having taken the fort of Bajaur by storm in two or three gharis, put all the garrison to the sword. I next advanced into Bahrah, where I prevented all marauding and plunder, imposed a contribution on the inhabitants, and having leived it to the amount of 400,000 Shah-rukhis in money and goods, divided the proceeds among the troops who were in my service, and returned back to Kabul. From that time till the year 932, I attached myself in a peculiar degree to the affairs of Hindustan, and in the space of these seven or eight years entered it five times at the head of an army. The fifth time the Most High God, of his grace and mercy, cast down and defeated enemy so mighty as Sultan Ibrahim, and made the master and conqueror of the powerful empire of Hindustan. . . .

The capital of all Hindustan is Dehli. From the time of Sultan Shahabu-d din Ghori to the end of Sultan Firoz Shah's time, the greater part of Hindustan was in the possession of the Emperor of Dehli. At the period

when I conquered that country five Musulman kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority.) Although there were many small and inconsiderable Rais and Rajas in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance. One of these powers was the Afghans, whose government included the capital, and extended from Bahrah to Behar. Jaunpur, before it fell into the power of the Afghans, was held by Sultan Husain Sharki. This dynasty they called the Purbi (or eastern). Their forefathers had been cupbearers to Sultan Firoz Shah, and that race of Sultans. After Sultan Firoz Shah's death, they gained possession of the kingdom of Jaunpur. Dehli was at that period in the hands of Sultan 'Alau-d din, whose family were saiyids. When Timur Beg invaded Hindustan, before leaving the country, he had bestowed the country of Dehli on their ancestors. Sultan Bahlol Lodi Afghan, and his son Sultan Sikandar, afterwards seized the throne of Dehli, as well as that of Jaunpur, and reduced both kingdoms under one government.

The second prince was Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarat. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahim's defeat. He was a prince well skilled in learning, and fond of reading the hadis (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Kuran. They call this race Tang. Their ancestors were cupbearers to the Sultan Firoz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Firoz Shah, they took possession of the throne of Gujrat.

The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis in the Dekhin, but at the present time the Sultans of the Dekhin have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles; and when the prince needs anything he

is obliged to ask it of his own amirs.

The fourth king was Sultan Mahmud, who reigned in the country of Malwa, which they likewise call

Mandu.⁷⁴ This dynasty was called the Khilji. Rana Sanka, a Pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak. Their ancestors, too, had been originally brought forward and patornized by Sultan Firoz Shah, after whose demise they occupied the kingdom of Malwa.

The fifth prince was Nusrat Shah, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a saiyid of the name of Sultan 'Alu-d din. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal, that there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty. There is is a throne allotted for the king; there is, in like manner, a seat or station assigned for each of the amirs, wazirs, and mansabdars. It is that throne and these stations alone which engage the reverence of the people of Bengal. A set of dependents, servants, and attendants are annexed to each of these situations. When the king wishes to dismiss or appoint any person, whosoever is placed in the seat of the one dismissed is immediately attended and obeyed by the whole establishment of dependents, servants, and retainers annexed to the seat which he occupies. Nay, this rule obtains even as to the royal throne itself. Whoever kills the king, and succeedes in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king;75 all the amirs, wazirs, soldiers, and

74("Mandu" in the Jaghatai: a spelling observed

in other works of this period.)

prevailed, down to a very late period, in Malabar. There was a jubilee every twelve years in the Samorin's country, and any one who succeeded in farcing his way through the Samorin's guards, and slew him, reigned in his stead. The attempt was made in 1695, and again a few years ago but without success. See Hamiton's new Account of the East Indies vol. i. p. 309.

peasants, instantly obey and submit to him, and consider him as being as much their soverign as they did their former prince, and obey his orders implicitly. The people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne; whoever fills the throne we are obedient and true to it." As for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shah's father, an Abyssinian,76 having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time. Sultan 'Alu-d din killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as king. After Sultan 'Alu-d din's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned. There is another usage in Bengal; it is reckoned disgraceful and mean for any king to spend or diminish the treasures of his predecessors. It is reckoned necessary for every king, on mounting the throne, to collect a new treasure for himself. To collect a treasure is, by these people, deemed a great glory and ground of distinction. There is another custom, that parganas have been assigned from ancient times to defray the expenses of each department, the treasury, the stable, and all the royal establishments; no expenses are paid in any other manner.

The five kings who have been mentioned are great princes, and are all Musulmans, and possessed of formidable armies. The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijanagar. Anther is the Rana Sanka, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitur. During the confusion that prevailed among princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu, such as Rantpur (Rantambhor), Sarangpur, Bhilsan, and Chanderi. In the year 934, by the divine favour, in the space of a few

⁷⁶ This was Muzaffar Shah Habshi, who reigned three years.

thours, I took by storm Chanderi, which was commanded by Maidani Rao, one of the highest and most distinguished of Rana Sanka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long been, converted it into the mansion of the faith, as will be hereafter more fully detailed. There were a number of other Rais and Rajas on the borders and within the territory of Hindustan; many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country, have never submitted to the Musulman kings. . .

The countries from Bahrah to Bihar, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two krors, as will appear from the particular and detailed statement.⁷⁷ Of this amount parganas to the value of eight or nine krors are in the possession of some Rais and Rajas, who who from of old times have been submissive, and have

served [in the Persian but the following statement is given in the Jaghatai version. "The whole of Hindustan had thus actually submitted in a short time to my victorious standards. The revenues of the country situated on this side of the Indus such as—

Satlej, Bahrah, Lahore, Sialkot, Dibalpur and	Tankas.
some others amounted to	3,33,15,989
Sirhind	1,29,31,985
Hisar-Firozah	1,30,75,174
Territory of Dehli, the capital and the Doab	3,69,50,254
Mewat, in the time of Sikandar, formed no part	No. 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
of his states	1,69,81,000
Bayana	1,44,14,930
Agra	29,76,919
The Centre	2,91,19,000
Gwalior	2,29,57,450
Kalpi Sanahda and Gurra'	4,28,55,950
Kanauj 3	1,36,63,358
Sambal	1,38,44,000
Lucknow and 'Lasksar'	1,39,82,433
Khairabad	12,85,000
Oudh and Bahraich	1,17,01,369
Jaunpur	4,00,88,333

received these parganas for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience. . . .

When I first arrived in Agra, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in Dehli and Agra, the inhabitants fortified different posts, while the governors of towns put their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey. Kasim Sambali was in Sambal, Nizam Khan in Bayana, the Raja Husan Khan Mewatti himself in Mewat. That infidel was78 the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections, Muhammad Zaitun was in Dhulpur, Tatar Khan Sarang-Khani in Gwalior, Husain Khan Lohani in Rabri, Kuth Khan in Etawa, and in Kalpi 'Ali Khan. Kanauj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of the refractory Afghans, such as Nasir Khan Lohani, M'aruf Farmuli, and a number of other amirs who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years

and the second second second		al .		
Karra-Manikpur				1,83,27,283*
Bihar				4,05,60,000
Sirohi				1,55,17,506
Jiparun (Champaran?)	• • •		•••	
				1,90,86,060
"Bundega"				43,30,300
Raja Muttana and Raja Rup tankas of silver	Barin	(Narain?)		2,55,000
and 27 lacs 50,000 black	k tank	as.		
- 145 ALIXA				20,00,000
Nagor				?
Raja Bikramajit Rantambhor				
Raja Gulanjari			e ""; =	
Raja Sing Dev	• • • •	•••	•••	1 14 15 1
Raja Bikram Dev	• • •	, <u>.</u>		
Doin Dilman Ch. 1	• • •			?
Raja Bikram Chand		1		?
*There is an error in	1 the	French ver.	sion 7	which save
"I kror, 803 lacs, 27,28	33 tai	nkas." See	also	Frskine's
Babar and Humayun,	vol.	i. b. 541	and	Thomas's
Pathan Kings, b. 390		, р. от	, unu	1 nomus s

78 The Jagnatai says "These infidels were," etc.

before the death of Ibrahim. At the period when I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kanauj and the countries in that quarter, and had advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kanauj. They elected Bihar Khan,79 the son of Darya Khan, as their king, and gave him the name of Sultan Muhammad. Marghub, a slave, was in Mahaban. 80 This confederation, though approaching, yet did not come near for some time. When I came to Agra it was the hot season. All the inhabitants fled from terror, so that we could not find grain nor provender, either for ourselves or our horses. The villages, out of hostility and hatred to us, had taken to rebellion, thieving and robbery. The roads became impassable. "I had not time, after the division of the treasure,81 to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different parganas and stations." It happened, too, that the heats were this year uncommonly oppressive. Many men about the same time dropped down, as if they had been affected by the Simum wind, and died on the spot.

Mon these accounts, not a few of my Begs and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustan, and even began to make preparations for their return. I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my Begs to a council. I told them that, . . . by the Divine favour, I had routed my formidable enemy, and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held, "and now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after

81The Jagh. says, "I had not yet been able to divide the treasure, or to send," etc.).

^{79&}quot;Bahadur Khan"-Jagh.

^{*}Instead of this sentence, the Jaghatai says "whence he (Marghub) did not move for some time, although in the immediate vicinity."

having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kabul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture? Let not any one who calls himself my friend ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any one among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or to give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart." Having made them this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes. Khwaja Kilan not being disposed to remain, it was arranged that as he had a numerous retinue, he should return back to guard the presents......

Although Rana Sanka82 the Pagan, when I was in Kabul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Dehli, he would march from the other side upon Agra; yet when I defeated Ibrahim, and took Dehli and Agra, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement. After some time, he advanced and laid siege to Kandhar,83 the name of a fort which was held by Hasan, the son of Makon. Hasan Makon had several times sent me envoys, though Makon himself had not waited on me with his submissions. The forts around, such as Etawa, Dhulpur, Gwalior, and Bayana were not yet in my possession. The Afghans to the eastward were in a state of rebellion and contumacy; they had even advanced two or three marches from Kanauj towards Agra, and had then

83 A strong hill-fort a few miles east of Rantambhor.

⁸²Rana Sanka, the Raja of Udipur, had made the principal Rajput states dependent upon him. He had enlarged his dominions by the conquest of several provinces in Malwa, that had formerly belonged to the King of Mandu; and was upon the whole, the most formidable opponent whom Babar had to dread.

encamped and fortified their position. I was by no means secure of the fidelity of the country immediately about us. It was impossible for me, therefore, to send any detachment to his relief; and Hasan, in the course of two or three months, having been reduced to extremity, entered into a capitulation, and surrendered the fort of Kandhar. . . . X

YEAR 933

(In Muharram, Nizam Khan, of Bayana), as soon as he had certain information of the approach of Rana Sanka, the Pagan, seeing no remedy, sent for Saiyid Rafa', and by his mediation delivered up the fort to my troops; after which he accompanied the Saiyid to the presence, and was graciously received and taken into my service. . . . Tatar Khan Sarang-khani, who held Gwalior, had repeatedly sent messengers with professions of submission and attachment. After the Pagan had taken Kandhar, and when he was approaching Bayana, one of the Rajas of Gwalior, Darmankat, and one Khan Jahan, a Pagan, came into the city of Gwalior, and began to attempt, by raising an insurrection and gaining a party, to produce a defection and seize the fortress. Tatar Khan, finding himself in considerable difficulty, was willing to deliver up the fort to me. . . . I despatched Rahim-dad with a party of Bahrah men and Lahoris, who were directed to return after establishing Rahim-dad in Gwalior. When they got near Gwalior, Tatar Khan had changed his mind, and would not suffer them to enter the fort . . . Rahim-dad sent in notice that he was afraid to remain without from dread of the Pagans; and proposed that he should be allowed to enter the fort with a few of his men while the rest stayed without the walls. After much entreaty, Tatar Khan, assented to this arrangement. Rahim-dad had no sooner secured his own admission, and that of a few of his men, than he requested that some of his people might be permitted to attend at the gate, which was

granted; and accordingly some of his people were stationed at the Hastiapol or elephant-gate. That very night he introduced the whole of his men by that gate. In the morning Tatar Khan, seeing that there was no help for it, surrendered the fort very unwillingly, and came and waited upon me at Agra.

Humayun, who had proceeded against the rebels of the East, having taken Jaunpur, marched expeditiously to Ghazipur, for the purpose of attacking Nasir Khan.⁸⁴ The Afghans in that quarter, on getting notice of his approach, passed the river Saru.⁸⁵ The light detachment of the army that had advanced marched back again, after plundering the country. Humayun then arranged everything as I had directed. . . He crossed the Ganges at Karra-Manikpur, and marched by way of Kalpi to join me. . . . On Sunday, the 3rd of the last Rabi', he waited on me in the garden of the Hasht-bihisht.

At this time messengers began to come close upon each other from Mahdi Khwaja, to announce that the Rana Sanka was undoubtely on his march, and had been joined by Hasan Khan Mewatti. . . . In order therefore to harass the Rana's army, I pushed on before me, towards Bayana, a light force On the 9th of the first Jumada, we received information that Rana Sanka had pushed on with all his army nearly as far as Bayana. The party that had been sent out in advance were not able to reach the fort, not even to communicate with it. The garrison of Bayana had advanced too far from the

⁸⁴The Jaghatai here adds, "He being apprised of the danger which threatened him crossed over the Ganges, upon which Humayun proceeded from Ghazipur to Khairabad."

⁸⁵The Saru or Sarju is a branch of the Gogra, which joins it a little above Oudh. Babar, however, applies that name to the joint stream, till it falls into the Ganges.

fort and with too little caution, and the enemy having unexpectedly fallen upon them in great force, completely routed them. . . . It occurred to me that, situated as I was, of all places in this neighbourhood, Sikri being that in which water was most abundant, was upon the whole the most desirable station for a camp; but that it was possible that the Pagans might anticipate us, take possession of the water and encamp there. I therefore drew up my army in order of battle, with right and left wing and main body, and advanced forward in battle array I had directed that the different Begs should have charge of the advance and scouts in turn. When it was 'Abdu-l Aziz's day, without taking any precautions, he advanced as far as Kanwahah, which is five kos from Sikri. The Pagans were on their march forward, when they got notice of his imprudent and disorderly advance, which they no sooner learned than a body of 4,000 or 5,000 of them at once pushed on and fell upon him. 'Abdul 'Aziz and Mulla Apak had with them about 1,000 or 1,500 men. Without taking into consideration the numbers or position of the enemy, they immediately engaged. On the very first charge, a number of their men were taken prisoners and carried off the field. The moment this intelligence arrived, I despatched Muhib 'Ali Khalifa, with his followers, to reinforce them. Mulla Husain and some others were sent close after to their support, being directed to push on each according to the speed of his horse. I then detached Muhammad Jang-Jang to cover their retreat. Before the arrival of the first reinforcement, consisting of Muhib 'Ali Khalifa and his party, they had reduced 'Abdu-l 'Aziz and his detachment to great straits, had taken his horse-tail standard, and taken and put to death and Mulla Apak's younger brother, besides a number of others. No sooner did the first reinforcement come up, than Tahir Tabari, the maternal uncle of Muhib 'Ali, made a push forward, but was unable to effect a junction with his friends, and got into the

midst of the enemy. Muhib 'Ali himself was thrown down in the action, but Baltu, making a charge from behind, succeeded in bringing him off. They pursued our troops a full kos, but halted the moment they described Muhammad 'Ali Jang-Jang's troops from a distance.

Messengers now arrived in rapid succession to inform me that the enemy had advanced close upon us. We lost no time in buckling on our armour; we arrayed our horses in their mail, and were no sooner accoutred than we mounted and rode out. I likewise ordered the guns⁸⁵ to advance. After marching a kos we found that the enemy had retreated. There being a large tank on our

85M. Pavet de Courteille here appends a note, of which the following is the translation: "The word "araba," which I have translated by 'chariot', has been understood by Leyden in the sense of 'gun', which I do not consider correct; at the utmost it signifies 'gun-carriage (affut).' It seems to me impossible to admit that Babar had at his command such a large movable artillery. These "araba" might be used to some extent in transport. ing field-pieces, but they were also employed in other ways, as the sequel shows." In the passage quoted from the Jaghatai version at page 251, it appears that the soldiers collected 700 "arabas," which Leyden translates "guns," and Pavet de Courteille, "chariots." It is manifest that carts, not guns, must be there intended. On the other hand, the word "araba" is used in India at the present day for a field-gun. Many passages in these Extracts show unmistakably that Babar had guns, and that Ustad 'Ali Kuli and Mustafa were gunners. The "arabas," whatever they were, were under the direction of these officers; so perhaps they were used for the carriage of the guns, as M. de Courteille suggests, and to form a sort of rampart in which the guns were placed at intervals.

left, I encamped there, to have the benefit of the water. We fortified the guns in front, and connected them by chains. Between every two guns we left a space of seven or eight gaz, which was defended by a chain. Mustafa Rumi had disposed the guns according to the Rumi fashion. He was extremely active, intelligent, and skilful in the management of artillery. As Ustad 'Ali Kuli was jealous of him,86 I had stationed Mustafa on the right with Humayun. In the places where there were no guns, I caused the Hindustani and Khurasani prisoners to run a ditch. In order to reassure my troops and to add to the apparent strength of my position, wherever there, were not guns, I directed things like tripods to be made of wood and the spaces between each of them, being seven or eight gaz, to be connected and strengthened by bulls' hides twisted into ropes. Twenty or twenty-five days elapsed before these machines and furniture were finished

On Monday, the 23rd of the first Jumada, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved one time after another to make an effectual repentance. . . Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, and other utensils of gold and silver, I directed to be divided among darweshes and the poor. .!.

At this time, as I have already observed, in consequence of preceding events, a general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an

individual who delivered a manly opinion. The wazirs,

⁸⁶The "Jaghatai" says, "had adopted quite a different method."

whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the amirs, who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men ' of firmness. During the whole course of this expedition Khalifa conducted himself admirably, and was unremitting and indefatigable in his endeavours to put everything in the best order. At length, observing the universal discouragement of my troops, and their total want of spirit, I formed my plan. I called an assembly of all the amirs and officers and addressed them: "Noblemen and soldiers! Every man that comes into his world is subject to dissolution. . . . How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy! . . . Let us, then, with one accord, swear on God's holy word, than none of us will even think of turning his face from this warfare, nor desert from the battle and slaughter that ensues, till his soul is separated from his body."

Master and servant, small and great, all, with emulation, seizing the blessed Kuran in their hands, swore in the form that I had given. My plan succeeded to admiration, and its effects were instantly visible, far and

near, on friend and foe.

The danger and confusion on all sides were particularly alarming at this very moment. Husain Khan Lohani had advanced and taken Rabri.⁸⁷ Kuth Khan's people had taken Chandwar.⁸⁸ A man of the name of Rustam Khan, having assembled a body of Doab bowmen, had come and taken Koel⁸⁹ and made Kachak 'Ali prisoner. Zahid had been compelled to evacuate Sambal, and had rejoined me. Sultan Muhammad Duldai had retired from Kanauj, and joined my army. The Pagans of the surrounding country came and blockaded Gwalior. 'Alim Khan, who had been sent to the succour of

⁸⁷ A fort in the Doab below Chandwar.

⁸⁸ Chandwar lies on the Jumna below Agra.

⁸⁹ In the Doab between Agra and Anupshahr.

Gwalior, intead of proceeding to that place, had marched off to his own country. Every day some unpleasant news reached us from one place or another. Many Hindustanis began to desert from the army. Haibat Khan Garg-andaz fled to Sambal. Hasan Khan Bariwal fled and joined the Pagans. Without minding the Pagans, we continued to mind only our own force. On Tuesday, the 9th of the latter Jumada, on the day of the Nauroz, I advanced my guns90 and tripods that moved on wheels, with all the apparatus and machines which I had prepared, and marched forward with my army, regularly drawn up and divided into right and left wing and centre, in battle order. I sent forward in front the guns90 and tripods placed on wheel carriages. Behind them was placed Ustad 'Ali Kuli with a body of his matchlockmen, to prevent the communication between the artillery and infantry, who were behind, from being cut off, and to enable them to advance and form into line.91 After the ranks were formed, and every man stationed in his place, I galloped along the line, animating the begs and troops of the centre, right and left, giving each division special instructions how they were to act, and to every man orders how to conduct himself and in what manner he was to engage; and, having made these arrangements, I ordered the army to move on in order of battle for about a kos, when we halted to encamp. The Pagans, on, getting notice of our motions, were on the alert, and several parties drew out to face us, and advanced close up to our guns92 and ditch. After our army had encamped, and when we had strengthened and fortified our position in front, as I did not intend fighting that day, I pushed on

^{90&}quot;Chariots."—Pavet de Courteille.

^{91&}quot;To see that the infantry advanced in order without getting separated from the chariots."-Pavet de 92"Chariots." Courteille.

a few of our troops to skirmish with a party of the enemy, by way of taking an omen. They took a number of Pagans and cut off their heads, which they brought away. Malik Kasim also cut off and brought in some heads. He behaved extremely well. This incident raised the spirits of our army excessively and had a wonderful effect in giving them confidence in themselves.

Next morning I marched from that station, with the intention of offering battle, when Khalifa and some of my advisers represented to me that as the ground on which we had fixed for halting was near at hand, it would be proper in the first place, to throw up a ditch and to fortify it, after which we might march forward and occupy the position. Khalifa accordingly mounted to give directions about the ditch, and rejoined us, after having set pioneers to work on the different parts of it, and appointed proper persons to superintend their progress.

On Saturday, the 13th of the latter Jumada, having dragged forward our guns,* and advanced our right, left, and centre in battle array for nearly a kos, we reached the ground that had been prepared for us. Many tents were already pitched, and they were engaged in pitching others, when news was brought that the enemy's army was in sight. I immediately mounted and gave orders that every man should, without dealy, repair to his post, and that the guns and lines should be properly strenghened. As the letter announcing my subsequent victory contains a clear detailed account of the circumstances of the Army of the Faith, the number of the Pagan bands, the order of battle, and arrangements of both the

THE STREET WE ARE TO STREET THE TOTAL TOTAL TOTAL

^{*&}quot;Chariots"

os''I gave orders to the right and left wing for each to take up its proper position for the battle, taking care to secure their lines by means of carts ranged in front."—

P. de Courteille.

Musulman and Pagan armies, I shall therefore subjoin the official despatch announcing the victory, as composed by Shaikh Zain, without adding or taking away.

(This is a long and elaborate document in the grand style. Babar gained a complete victory; Hasan Mewatti and many Hindu chiefs were slain, and great numbers of the enemy's men were killed, wounded or made prisoners.)

After this victory, I used the epithet of Ghazi in the Imperial titles. Having defeated the enemy, we pursued them with great slaughter. Their camp might be two kos distant from ours. On reaching it, I sent on Muhammadi and some other officers, with orders to follow them in close pursuit, slaying and cutting them off, so that they should not have time to reassemble: In this instance I was guilty of neglect; I should myself have gone on, and urged the pursuit, and ought not to have intrusted that business to another ! . . . Next day we continued on the same ground. I despatched Muhammad 'Ali Jang-Jang and ... with a large force against Ilyas Khan, who had made an insurrection in the Doab, surprised Koil, and taken Kachak 'Ali prisoner. On the arrival of my detachment, the enemy finding that they could not cope with them, fled in all directions in confusion and dismay. Some days after my return to Agra, Ilyas was taken and brought in; I ordered him to be flayed alive.

The battle was fought within view of a small hill, near our camp. On this hillock I directed a tower of the skulls of the infidels to be constructed. From this encampment the third march brought us to Bayana. Immense numbers of the dead bodies of the Pagans and apostates had fallen in their flight, all the way to Bayana, and even as far as Alwar and Mewat

The country of Mewat lies not far from Dehli, and yields a revenue of three or four krors. Hasan Khan Mewatti had received the government of that country

from his ancestors, who had governed it, in uninterrupted succession, for nearly 200 years. They had yielded an imperfect kind of submission to the Sultans of Dehli. The Sultans of Hind, whether from the extent of their territories, from want of opportunity, or from obstacles . opposed by the mountainous nature of the country, had never subdued Mewat. They had never been able to reduce it to order, and were content to receive such a degree of obedience as was tendered to them. After my conquest of Hind, following the example of former Sultans, I also had shown Hasan Khan distinguished marks of favour. Yet this ungrateful man, whose affections lay all on the side of the Pagans, this infidel, regardless of my favours, and without any sense of the kindness and distinction with which he had been treated, was the grand promoter and leader of all the commotions and rebellions that ensued, as has been related. The plan for marching into the country of the Pagans having been abandoned, I resolved on the reduction of Mewat. I advanced four marches, and after the fifth, encamped six kos from the fort of Alwar, which was the seat of government, on the banks of the river Manisni. Hasan Khan's ancestors had made their capital at Tajara A person named Karm Chand, one of Hasan Khan's head men, who had come to visit Hasan Khan's son while he was a prisoner in Agra, now arrived from the son, commissioned to ask a pardon. I sent him back, accompanied by 'Abdu-l Rahim Shaghawal, with letters to quiet his apprehensions, and promising him personal safety;94 and they returned along with Nahir Khan, Hasan Khan's son. I again received him into favour, and bestowed on him

⁹⁴(The Jaghatai version differs. "Afterwards he brought back to me the son of Hasan 'Ali, son of Bahir Khan, whom I treated with great favour and to whom I granted for his support a district of several lacs of revenue.")

a Pargana of several lacs for his support.... I bestowed on Chin Timur Sultan the city of Tajara, which was the capital of Mewat, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty lacs. To Tardika, who in the battle with Rana Sanka Commanded the tulughma (or flanking division) on the right, and had distinguished himself more than any other, I gave an appointment of fifteen lacs, with the charge of the fort of Alwar. I bestowed the treasure of Alwar, with everything in the fort, on Humayun.

I marched from this station on Wednesday, the 1st of Rajab, and having come within two kos of Alwar, went and examined the fort, where I stayed all night, and returned back to the camp in the morning.

YEAR 934 (1527-8 A.D.)

On Sunday (29th Safar) Ustad 'Ali Kuli fired a large ball from a cannon; though the ball went far, the cannon burst in pieces and every piece knocked down several men, of whom eight died. . . .

On Monday the 14th of the first Rabi,' I set out, in pursuance of a vow, on a holy war against Chanderi, and marching three kos, halted at Jalesar. . . On Friday, the 24th (of the second Rabi'), we encamped near Kachwah. . . . Having halted one day. I sent on a number of overseers and pioneers to level the inequalities of the road, and to cut down the jungle, to admit of the guns and carriages passing without difficulty. . . . Leaving Kachwah, the second day's march brought us within three kos of Chanderi, where we encamped, having previously crossed the river of Barhanpur.

The citadel of Chanderi is situated on a hill. The outer fort and town lie in the middle of the slope of the

^{95 (&}quot;fifty"—Jagh).
96 ("Chariots et canons."—P. de Courteille).

hill. The straight road, by which cannon⁹⁷ can be conveyed, passes right below the fort. After marching from Barhanpur, we passed a kos lower down than Chanderi, on account of our guns, ("chariots") and at the end of the march, on Tuseday, the 28th, encamped on the banks of Bahjat Khan's tank, on the top of the mound. Next morning I rode out and distributed the different posts around the fort to the different divisions of my army, to the centre and to the right and left wings. In placing his battery, Ustad 'Ali Kuli chose a peice of ground that had no slope.98 Overseers and pioneers were appointed to construct works on which the guns were to be planted. All the men of the army were directed to prepare turas and scaling-ladders, and to serve the turas which are used in attacking forts. Chanderi had formerly belonged to the Sultans of Mandu. After the death of Sultan Nasiru-d din, one of his sons, Sultan Mahmud, who is now in Mandu, got possession of Mandu and the neighbouring countries; another of his sons, Muhammad Shah, seized on Chanderi, and applied to Sultan Sikandar for protection. Sultan Sikandar sent several large armies and supported him in his dominions. After Sultan Sikandar's demise, in Sultan Ibrahim's reign, Muhammad Shah died, leaving a young son of the name of Ahmad Shah. Sultan Ibrahim carried off Ahmad Shah, and established one of his own people in his stead. When Sanka advanced with an army against Ibrahim as far as Dhulpur, that prince's amirs rose against him, and on that occasion Chanderi fell into Sanka's hands. He bestowed it on one Medini Rao, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with 4,000 or 5,000 Pagans. . . . I sent to him to assure

97 ("Chariots.").

^{98 (&}quot;Ustad Ali Kuli choisit un terrain sans pente pour lancer ses projectiles. Des inspecteurs et des terrassiers furent charges d'elever des batteries pour y installer l'artillerie."—P. de Courteille.)

him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shamsabad in exchange for Chanderi. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to conciliation, . . . and the treaty broke off without success. On the morning of Tuesday, the 6th of the first Jumada, I marched from Bahjat Khan's tank, for the purpose of attempting Chanderi by force, and encamped on the banks of the middle tank, which is near the fort. The same morning, just as we reached our ground, Khalifa brought me a letter or two. The tenor of them was, that the army which had been sent to the eastward (purab), while marching in disorder, had been attacked and defeated; that it had abandoned Lucknow, and fallen back to Kanauj. . . . The enemy had garrisoned every part of the citadel (of Chanderi) strongly, but had placed only a few men, by ones and twos, in the outer fort to defend it. This very night my troops entered the outer fort on every side. There being but few people in the place, the resistance was not obstinate. They fled, and took shelter in the citadel.

Next morning, being Wednesday, the 7th of the first Jumada, I commanded the troops to arm themselves, to repair to their posts, and prepare for an assault, directing that as soon as I raised my standard and beat my kettledrum, every man should push on to the assault. I did not intend to display my standard, nor beat the kettledrum till we were ready to storm, but went to see Ustad 'Ali Kuli's battering-cannon play. He discharged three or four shots; but his ground having no slope and the works being very strong, and entirely of rock, the effect produced was trifling. It has been mentioned that the citadel of Chanderi is situated on a hill; on one side of it they have made a covered way, which runs down to the water. The walls of this covered way reach down below the hill, and this is one of the places in which the fort is assailable with most hopes of success. This spor had been assigned to the right and left of the centre, and

to my own household troops, as the object of their attack. The citadel was attacked on all sides, but here with particular vigour. Though the Pagans exerted themselves to the utmost, hurling down stones from above, and throwing over flaming substances on their heads, the troops nevertheless persevered, and at length Shaham Nur Beg mounted, where the wall of the outer fort joined the wall of the projecting bastion. The troops, likewise, about the same time, scaled the walls in two or three other places. The Pagans who were stationed in the covered way, took to flight, and that part of the works was taken. They did not defend the upper fort with so much obstinacy, and were quickly put to flight; the assailants climbed up and entered the upper fort by storm. In a short time the Pagans, in a state of complete nudity, rushed out to attack us, put numbers of my people to flight, and leaped over the ramparts.99 Some of our troops were attacked furiously, and put to the sword. The reason of this desperate sally from their works was, that, on giving up the place for lost, they had put to death the whole of their wives and women, and, having resolved to perish, had stripped themselves naked, in which condition they had rushed out to the fight; and engaging with ungovernable desperation, drove our people along the ramparts.100 Two or three hundred Pagans entered Medini Rao's house, where numbers of them slew each other, in the following manner: One person took his stand with a sword in his hand, while the others, one by one, crowded in and stretched out their necks eager to die. In this way many went to hell; and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three gharis I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standard, or beating my kettledrum, and without using the whole

^{99(&}quot;And drove them over the ramparts."—Jaghatai).
100("At length my men forced them on every side to
fly over the ramparts."—Jagh.)

strength of my arms. On the top of a hill, to the northwest of Chanderi, I erected a tower of the heads of the

Pagans. . . .

Next morning, being Thursday, I marched round the fort, and encamped by the fort of Mallu Khan. When I came it was my design, after the capture of Chanderi, to fall upon Rai Singh, and Bhilsan (Bhilsa), and Sarangpur, which is a country of the Pagans that belonged to Salahu-d din, the Pagan; and I intended, after conquering them, to advance to Chitur against Sanka. On the arrival of the unfavourable news that has been alluded to, I convened the Begs and held a council, in which it was decided that it was necessary, first of all, to proceed to check the rebellion of the insurgents. I gave Chanderi to Ahmad Shah, who has been mentioned, the grandson of Sultan Nasiru-d din and fixed a revenue of fifty lacs to be paid from it to the imperial treasury.

On Sunday, the 11th of the first Jumada, I set out on my expedition. . . On Saturday, the 24th, having halted at the passage of Kinar, 102 I ordered the troops to lose no time in crossing with all possible speed. At this time I received intelligence that the detachment which I had sent forward, after abandoning Kanauj, had fallen back to Rabri, and that a strong force had advanced and stormed the fort of Shamsabad, which had been garrisoned by the troops of Abu-l Muhammad Niza-baz. We were detained three or four days on the two banks of the river, while the army was passing. Having transported the whole army across, I proceeded, march after march, for Kanauj, and sent on a party of light troops before us, in order to gain intelligence of the

of Raisin must be intended.)

1024 kos or two below the junction of the Jumna and the Chambal.

enemy. We were still two or three marches from Kanauj, when they returned with information that, instantly on discovering from a distance the troops who had advanced to reconnoitre, the son of M'aruf had fled from Kanauj and abandoned it, and that Biban and Bayazid, as well as M'aruf, on hearing of my motions, had recrossed the Ganges, and occupied the east side of the river opposite to Kanauj, hoping that they would be able

to prevent my passage.

On Thursday, the 6th of the latter Jumada, I passed Kanauj, and encamped on the western bank of the Ganges. My troops went out and seized a number of the enemy's boats, which they brought in. From above and from below they collected about thirty or forty boats in all, of different sizes. I sent Mir Muhammad Jalahban to throw a bridge over the river. He accordingly went and marked out a situation, about a kos bellow our encampment. I appointed commissaries to provide everything requisite for the bridge. Near the place pitched on; Ustad 'Ali Kuli brought a gun for the purpose of cannonading, and having pitched upon a proper spot, began his fire. . . .

Having planted a swivel on an island, at a place below where the bridge was constructing, fire was commenced from it. Higher up than the bridge a breastwork was raised, over which the matchlockmen fired with great execution. . . . For several days, while the bridge was constructing, Ustad 'Ali Kuli played his gun remarkably well. The first day he discharged it eight times; the second day sixteen times; and for three or four days he continued firing in the same way. The gun which he fired was that called Deg-ghazi (the victorious gun). It was the same which had been used in the war with Sanka, the Pagan, whence it got its name. Another gun, larger than this, had been planted, but it burst at the first fire. . . .

As soon as the bridge was nearly, completed, on

Wednesday, the 19th of the last Jumada, I moved and took post at the end of it. The Afghans, amazed at our attempt to throw a bridge over the Ganges, treated it with contempt. On Thursday, the bridge being completed, a few of the infantry and Lahoris crossed and had a slight action with the enemy. On Friday, part of my household troops, the right of the centre, the left of the centre, my best troops, and foot musketeers crossed over. The whole Afghans having armed themselves for battle, mounted, and advancing with their elephants attacked them. At one time they made an impression on the troops of the left, and drove them back, but the troops of the right and of the centre stood their ground, and finally drove from the field the enemy opposed to them. . . . The fight continued sharply till afternoon prayers. The whole night was employed in bringing back across the bridge such as had passed to the other side. If that same Saturday eve I had carried over the rest of my army, it is probable that most of the enemy would have fallen into our hands. But it came to my head, that last year I had set out on my march from Sikri to attack Sanka on New Year's Day, which fell on a Tuesday, and had overthrown my enemy on a Saturday. This year we had commenced our march against these enemies on New Year's Day, which fell upon a Wednesday, and that if we beat them on a Sunday it would be a remarkable coincidence. On that account I did not march my troops. On Saturday, the enemy did not come out to action, but stood afar off, drawn up in order of battle. That day we conveyed over our artillery,103 and next morning the troops had orders to cross. About the beat of the morning drum, information reached us from the advanced guard that the enemy had gone off and fled. I commanded Chin Timur Sultan to push on before the army, in pursuit of the enemy I also

crossed over about the time of early morning prayers. . . . The detachment which had been sent on to harass the enemy, had little success. . . . On Saturday, the 29th of the latter Jumada, I reached Lucknow; and having surveyed it, passed the river Gumti, and encamped. . . . On Saturday, the 7th Rajab. I encamped two or three kos above Oudh, at the junction of the Gogar and Sirwu.104 Till that day, Shaikh Bayazid had kept his station not far from Oudh, on the other side of the Sirwu. . . . (Ching Timur) Sultan began to make preparations for passing the river. When Karachah had joined Sultan, they passed the river without delay. . . . Those who had passed over first, continued till evening prayers in pursuit of Shaikh Bayazid who threw himself into a jungle and escaped. . . . I halted some days in this station, for the purpose of settling the affairs of Oudh and the neighbouring country, and for making the necessary arrangements.

(The remaining transactions of this year are not to be found.)

EVENTS OF THE YEAR 935 (1528-9 A.D.).

On Sunday, the 5th Muharram, intending to visit Gwalior, which in books they write Galiar, ¹⁰⁵ I passed the Jumna and entered the fort of Agra. . . On the 10th I alighted at a *Charbagh*, a kos from Gwalior to the north, and next morning I entered Gwalior by the Hatipur gate, which is close by Raja Man Singh's palace, and proceeded to Raja Bikramajit's palace. . . .

On Tuesday, the 14th, messengers arrived from Bikramajit, the second son of Rana Sanka, who, with his mother Padmavati was in Rantambhor. Before setting out

104 (Gogra and Saru).

^{105 (}So says Ershine's version. Pavet de Courteille writes it "Kalpour." Probably, however, these are only incorrect versions of the spelling common at that period, viz., Gwalir, or Gwaliyar).

to visit Gwalior, a person had come from a Hindu named Asok, who was high in Bikramajit's confidence, with offers of submission and allegiance, expressing a hope that he would be allowed seventy lacs as an annuity. The bargain was concluded, and it was settled that, on delivering up the fort of Rantambhor, he should have parganas assigned him equal to what he had asked. After making this arrangement, I sent back his messengers. When I went to survey Gwalior, I made an appointment to meet his men in Gwalior. They were several days later than the appointed time. Asok, the Hindu, had himself been with Padmavati, Bikramajit's mother, and had explained to the mother and son everything that had passed. They approved of Asok's proceedings, and agreed to make the proper submissions, and to rank themselves among my subjects. When Rana Sanka defeated Sultan Mahmud and made him prisoner, the Sultan had on a splendid crown-cap and golden girdle, which fell into the hands of the Pagan, who, when he set Sultan Mahmud at liberty, retained them. They were now with Bikramajit. . . . By the persons who came from him to wait on me, he now sent me this crown and golden girdle and asked Bayana in exchange for Rantambhor. I diverted them from their demand of Bayana, and Shamsabad was fixed on as the equivalent for Rantambhord will you best a paintout tout bus ."

On Thursday, the 3rd of the first Jumada, I received letters forwarded by Khalifa from Agra, which contained intelligence that Mahmud, the son of Iskandar, had taken Bihar. The moment I received this information, I resolved to join the army. Next morning I mounted at six gharis and reached Agra at evening prayers. Next morning being Saturday, I called the amirs to a council.

On Thursday, the 10th of the first Jumada, I set out for the Purab (east). . . . On Saturday, the 17th of the second Jumada, we marched eight kos, and halted at

Dakdaki, a pargana of Karra, on the banks of the Ganges. . . . While in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultan Mahmud had gathered round him 100,000 Afghans; that he had detached Shaikh Bayazid and Baban with a large army towards Sirwar, while he himself and Fath Khan Sarwani occupied the banks of the Ganges, and were moving upon Chunar; that Sher Khan Sur, on whom I bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several parganas, and whom I had left in command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghans; that with some other amirs he had passed the river, and that Sultan Jalalu-d din's people, being unable to defend Benares, had abandoned it and retreated. They excused themselves by saying that they had left a sufficient force in the castle of Benares, and had advanced in order to meet the enemy on the banks of the Ganges.

On the 24th, Sultan Mahammad Bakhshi came in a boat from the other side of the river. He brought accounts of the ruin of the affairs of Mahmud Khan, the son of Sultan Sikandar, whom the rebels had dignified with the title of Sultan Mahmud. . . . It appeared that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunar, and had even made a slight attack; but that, on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation. broke up in confusion, and raised the siege; that the Afghans who had passed over to Benares had also retired in great confusion; that two of their boats sank in the passage, and that several of their men were drowned in the river. . . .

On Monday, the 4th Rajab, I marched from the banks of the Jumna against Bihar. . . On the 13th I visited the fort of Chunar. . . Here Babi Khan brought information that Mahmud Khan was on the banks of the river Son. I immediately convened the amirs, and consulted them about attempting to fall upon the enemy by surprise, when it was finally settled that we should

advance by very long marches without a moment's loss of time. . . . On Wednesday, the 20th, I embarked on the river, and halted at a kos below Ghazipur. . . . On the 22nd, I embarked on the river as usual, and landed opposite to Chusah (Chowsar). . . . They army encamped on the banks of the Karmnas. The Hindus rigorously avoid this river. The pious Hindus did not pass it, but embarked in a boat and crossed by the Ganges so as to avoid it. They hold that if the water of this river touches any person, his religion is lost; and they assign an origin to its name corresponding with this opinion. 106

On Saturday, the 8th Sha'ban, a messenger from Dudu and his son Jalal Khan Bihar Khan arrived in my camp. It appeared that the Bengalis had watched them with a jealous eye. After having given me notice of their intentions that I might expect their arrival, they had come to blows with the Bengalis, had effected their escape, crossed the river, and reached the territory of Bihar, whence they were now on their way to tender me their allegiance. The same day I sent word to the ambassador of Bengal, Isma'il Mita, that there was great delay on the part of his Court, in answering the three articles which had formerly been given to him in writting and which he had forwarded; that he must therefore despatch a letter, requiring an immediate and categorical answer; that if his master had really peaceable and friendly intentions, he could find no difficulty in declaring so, and that without loss of time. . . .

On Sunday, I marched and halted in the pargana of Arra. Here we received information that the army of Kharid¹⁰⁷ was encamped at the junction of the Ganges

¹⁰⁶ Karm-nas, ruin of religion or sanclity.

¹⁰⁷ Kharid appears to have included the country on both sides of the Gogra near Sikandarpur, and thence on its left bank down to the Ganges.

and Saru on the further side of the river Saru, where they had collected 100 or 150 vessels. As I was at peace with Bengal, and had always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things, though they had not treated me well in placing themselves right in my route, yet from a consideration of the terms on which I had long been with them, I resolved to send Mulla Muhammad Mazhib along with Ismail Mita, the ambassador of Bengal; and it was settled that the Mulla should have leave to return back to me, after making the same three proposals I had formely offered.

On Monday, the ambassador of Bengal came to wait on me, when I sent him notice that he had leave to return. It was at the same time intimated to him, that I would be guided entirely by my own pleasure, in moving backwards or forwards, as seemed best for the purpose of quelling the rebels wherever they were to be found, but that his master's dominions should sustain no harm, either by land or water; that as one of the three articles was, that he should order the army of Kharid to leave the tract in which I was marching, and return to Kharid, I was willing to send some Turks to accompany them on their march; that I would give the Kharid troops a safe conduct, and assurances of indemnity, and suffer them to go to their own homes. If he108 refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made, that then whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard as proceeding from his own act; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstances that occurred.

On Thursday, the 19th Shaban, I called the amirs, both Turki and Hindu, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river. It was finally settled

^{108 (}Pavet de Courteille make s this page apply to the people of Kharid.)

that Ustad 'Ali should plant his cannon, his firingi pieces and swivels (zarb-zin), on a rising ground between the Ganges and Saru, and also keep a hot fire with a number of matchlockmen from that post; that a little lower down than the junction of the two rivers, opposite to an island, where there were a number of vessels collected, Mustafa on the Bihar side of the Ganges¹⁰⁹ should get all his artillery and ammunition in readiness, and commence a cannonade; a number of matchlockmen were placed under his command That Askari and the Sultans and Khans named for the duty should set out expeditiously, and pass the Saru at the ghat of Haldi, in order that when the batteries were completed, they might be in readiness to fall upon the enemy who might thus be attacked in different quarters at the same time On the morning of Sunday the army began to cross the Ganges. I embarked and crossed over about the first watch . . . On Tuesday we marched from the place where we had crossed the river, advanced towards the field of action, which is near the confluence of the two rivers, and encamped about a kos from it. I myself went and saw Ustad 'Ali Kuli employed in firing his firingis and artillery. That day Ustad 'Ali Kuli struck two vessels with shot from his firingi and sank them. . . . The same day a messenger arrived from Askari, with information that his army had now all crossed the river, and that early next morning being Thursday, they would be ready to fall upon the enemy. I immediately issued orders that all the rest of our troops who had effected their passage should co-operate with Askari, and fall upon the enemy in conjunction with him. About noon-day prayers, a person came from Ustad with notice that the bullet was ready to be discharged and that he waited for instruc-

^{109(&}quot;On the side of the Ganges facing (qui regrade)
Bihar."—P. de C.)

tions. I sent orders to discharge it, and to have another

loaded before I came up.

About afternoon prayers, I embarked in a small Bengali boat, and proceeded to the place where the batteries had been erected. Ustad discharged a very large stone bullet once, and fired the firingi several times. The Bengalis are famous for their skill in artillery. On this occasion we had a good opportunity of observing them. They do not direct their fire against a particular point, but discharge at random On Thursday morning I received intelligence from the men in the batteries, that the ships which were higher up the river were all sailing down, and that the enemy's whole cavalry had mounted, and were now moving against our troops, who were advancing. I set out with the utmost expedition, and repaired to the vessels which had passed up by night. . . . I ordered Ishan Timur Sultan and Tukhta Bugha Sultan, who were protecting the vessels, to lose no time in crossing. On this occasion Ishan Timur Sultan embarked with about thirty or forty of his servants in a boat; they swam over their horses by the side of the boat, and so effected a passage; another boat got across after him The vessels now began to cross in uninterrupted succession. The Lahoris and Hindustanis also began to pass separately, some by swimming and others on bundles of reeds, each shifting for himself.

On observing what was going on, the Bengali ships, which lay opposite to the batteries down the river, began to flee I despatched a messenger to the Sultans desiring them to keep together in a body such as had crossed, and that as the enemy's army drew near, they should take post upon its flank, and skirmish with them. The Sultans accordingly formed such as had crossed into three or four divisions, and advanced towards the enemy. On their approach the enemy pushed forward their infantry to attack them, and then moved from their position to follow and support their advance. Koki arrived with a

detachment from Askari's division on the one side, and the Sultan's advancing on the other direction, they both charged. They fell furiously on the enemy, whom they bore down, taking a number of prisoners, and finally drove them from the field

Intelligence arrived again and again that the insurgents had passed the Saru and Gogra, and were marching on Lucknow. . . On Friday, the 19th Ramazan, I rereived letters announcing the taking of Lucknow. It appeared that on Saturday, the 13th of Ramazan, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. During the assault, some hay that had been collected, being set on fire by the fireworks, turpentine, and other combustibles that were thrown on it, the inside of the fort became as hot as an oven, and it was impossible to stand on the parapet, and consequently the fort was taken. Two or three days afterwards, on hearing of my return, the enemy marched towards Dalamu. This day also, we advanced ten kos, and halted hard by a village named Jalesar, in the pargana of Sikri, on the banks of the river Saru. . . . On the 18th Shawwal, I at midnight reached the garden of the Hasht-bihisht at Agra.

(Shortly after this, with the 3rd Muharram, 936, Babar's Memoirs came to an abrupt termination.)

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TABAKAT-I BABARI of SHAIKH ZAIN

(There is among Sir H. Elliot's MSS. an old worm-eaten MS; of small size, entitled Tabakat-i Babari. This is described by a Persian note upon a fly-leaf as being "an account of Babar's fifth invasion of Hindustan, written by Shaikh Zain, one of the associates of the Padshah, whose name is often mentioned in the Tuzak-i Babari." The Nigaristan-i Gitinuma quotes this work under the title of Futuhat-i Hind, written by Shaikh Zainu-l 'abidin. Sir H. Elliot's MS. has no introduction, but opens abruptly with "His Majesty's fifth expedition to Hindustan;" and it ends still more abruptly in the middle of the occurrences of the 15th Jumada-l awwal, 933 H. (page 352 of Leyden and Erskine's translation). The MS. was written in the year 998 H. (1589-90 A.D.), and the scribe tells us that he had copied to the end of his taswid, or rough draft. So this MS. would seem to have been transcribed from the author's own copy, and we may fairly conclude that this year 998 is the very one in which 'Abdu-r Rahim's Persian translation of Babar's Memoirs was presented to the Emperor Akbar.

The work itself affords indirect corroboration of its having been written by Shaikh Zain. Babar (p. 291 of Erskine) describes a party of literary men who were with him in his boat on a particular occasion, and amused themselves with making verses; and among the names of his companions he mentions Shaikh Zain. The author of the Tabahat gives an account of this party, and also records the names of the guests; but instead of Shaikh Zain, he says this "insignificant and ignorant servant," leaving no doubt of his and Shaikh Zain's identity. Shaikh Zain was Babar's secretary and wrote the Farman,

which is translated by Erskine (p. 359), and by Pavet de Courteille (vol. ii., p. 287). Both translators remark upon the extreme magniloquence of this document. "Nothing," says Erskine, "can form a more striking contrast to the simple, manly, and intelligent style of Babar himself, than the pompous learned periods of his secretary. Yet I have never read this Farman to any native of India who did not bestow unlimited admiration on the official bombast of Zainu-d din, while I met with none but Turks. who paid due praise to the calm simplicity of Babar." This description of the style of the Farman applies equally to the present work. It is not so much a translation. as a paraphrase, in the lofty style, of Babar's own Memoirs, and these scenes and occurrences are brought into prominence which offer the most tempting opportunities for a display of the author's eloquence and ingenuity, such as a description of a beautiful garden, or the charms of a pleasant party. It omits much that Babar himself deemed worthy of record, such as the description of the natural productions of Hindustan; and it appears neither to add any new facts, nor to throw any additional light. upon the transactions of which it treats. There is sufficient difference, however, to show that the author was not wholly dependent upon Babar's writings, but that he had also some personal knowledge of the various events. Two passages have been translated which will show the author's style, and the general agreement of his work with that of his master).

EXTRACTS

On Friday, the 1st Safar, may God end it with victory (zafar), in the year 932 of the Best of Mankind, when the sovereign of the stars (the Sun) was in the sign Sagittarius, and having come into his residence in the Bow, had raised the standard of obedience among the royal archers; at such a time the victorious ensigns, which enhance the splendour of the flags of the sun and moon, moved from

their place of safety in the city of Kabul, which is the seat of empire and prosperity, and the abode of honour and grace, under the gracious guidance of the Almighty and the beneficent conduct of the Eternal, and proceeded towards the vast country of Hindustan, to the greatness of which the text—"The great country is bestowed on you"—refers. The royal tents, the emblems of victory, were pitched on the west of the canal of Ya'kub, which is one of the best villages of that country, and the poles and ropes of the tents reached to the stars.

DEFEAT OF SULTAN IBRAHIM

After this date (28th Jumada-l awwal) the ears of the victorious army were every moment engaged in listening to the intelligence about Sultan Ibrahim; for news was constantly arriving that after marching one kos or two kos, he remained encamped in the same place for two or three days, but yet was advancing, attended by a numerous army, with the intention of attacking and pushing back our forces. Although the object of his proceedings and movements was palpable, Babar strengthened his resolution for the conflict, and resolved to stake his fortunes upon the issue of battle. The heroes of his army also, seeing the enemy's preparations and resolution for fighting, braced up their courage and invigorated their determination. Leading forth the prancing steed of intrepidity into the arena of courage, they raised the banner of energy and resolve over the cerulean sphere. The army intent on victory made two marches from Shahabad, and displaying the victorious banners on the banks of the Jumna, it encamped opposite to the town of Sirsawah. His Majesty the Khakan, with an escort of his attendants, passed the river by a ford near some trees, and visited the town of Sirsawah. Having gratified his: heart with a ma'jun, he proceeded to see the curiosities of the place. A fountain of water in the town attracted his gracious notice, from which a small stream was flowing. The houses and gardens, the fields and the meadows, satisfied his not easily pleased eyes, and the nobles and companions agreed in his judgment. Tardi Beg Khaksar began to praise the town, and some words in its eulogy proceeded from his tongue. His Majesty listened to these praises and said: "It is yours, take it, and immediately afterwards the revenue and the management of that place were granted as *in'am* to Amir Tardi Beg, and were so

entered in the records of government.

From that camping ground two marches were made along the banks of the river, and the camp was pitched upon its margin. Here Haidar Kuli, a follower of Amir Khwaja Kalan, who had been sent on under orders to collect intelligence, came back and made his report that Daud Khan and Haitam Khan, with 5,000 or 6,000 men, had advanced in the vicinity of the river, and crossing over the Jumna, had sat down three or four kos in advance of the camp of Sultan Ibrahim. So for the purpose of overthrowing and destroying this force, there were sent on from the camp, vast as the firmament, Chin Timur Sultan, Saiyid Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, and 'Adil Sultan; from the amirs of the left wing-Sultan Junaid Birlas, Khwaja Shah Mir Hussain and Amir Katlak Kadam; from the amirs of the centre-Amir Yunas 'Ali Amir 'Abdu-llah Kiiab-dar, Amir Ahmadi Farwanachi, and Amir Kitta Beg. Having placed the saddle upon the horse of victory, and unfurled in the sky the banner of resolution, the royal lieutenants crossed the Jumna after noon-day prayers on Sunday, the 8th Jumada-l akhir. At the close of evening of that day they came in face of the enemy on that side of the river.

When the armies of the dawn raised their white standards over the legions of the stars, and the victorious army drew near to the forces of the foe, the enemy became aware of the dashing of the furious waves of the opposing armies, and of the throng of crocodiles in that sea of billows. A small part of the enemy came onwards,

but the conquering army instantly dashed forward and carried the whole of that force away before it, as a flood bears away the litter it meets with. Having beaten to the earth the heads of the enemy's chiefs, and made the wails of their half-killed followers to rise upto the skies, the victorious forces drove before them every man and ally of the vanquished force, separating riders from steeds and heads from bodies. The shrill blast of the clarion of destruction, and a scene like that of the day of judgment, full of awful and tremendous strife, now operating together, the meaning of the text, "When the heavens, shall be rent," became manifest; and the heads of the leaders of the armies of the time, like shooting-stars falling from the sky, fell like balls in the arena, and the meaning of the words "The stars shall be scattered," became apparent. The brave chiefs of the victorious army spurred their fleet steeds in pursuit of the enemy, and, coming up with them, they despatched them one by one to the everlasting shades of non-entity and the eternal abyss of annihilation. In fine, the brave heroes of the conquering army having utterly defeated Daud Khan and Haitam Khan, they made prisoners of Haitam Khan and a large number of his followers. Many others were slain, and those who escaped to the camp of Sultan Ibrahim made a fearful outcry. Haitam Khan with seventy or eighty other amirs were brought before the throne of victory, and eight elephants which had been captured in the battle were presented to His Majesty. In obedience to the Khakan's order for their punishment as examples, and in execution of his severe decree, a command for the slaughter of all the prisoners was given. So the flames of the fire of vengeance blazed forth, and the flashes of the fire of the sword drove out the dark vapours of the souls of the followers of Daud Khan, like smoke from the windows of existence.

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HUMAYUN-NAMA of KHONDAMIR

(This is the last work of the historian Khondamir. It records an event in Zi-l ka'da at the end of 940 H., and the writer died in the following year 941 (1534-5 A.D.). The book seems to have received little notice, and remains almost unknown. It is in all probability the same as the Kanun-i Humayuni quoted by Abu-l Fazl in Akbar-nama. It shows that Khondamir had become quite a courtier in his old age, and had abandoned the studies of the historian to become a royal panegyrist. His work also shows that he was high in favour at Court, and he gives specimens of odes and verses which he composed on occasions of royal festivity. He records how various attendants of the Court received titles of honour descriptive of their characters, and that which he received was Amir-i Akhbar, "the noble historian." Notwithstanding the high-flown strain of eulogy in which the work is written, it contains some points of interest, and a few Extracts follow.

Sir H. Elliot did not procure a copy of the MS., and the Editor has had no copy to consult. The Extracts which follow have been selected from what appears to be a complete translation made by Sir H. Elliot's private munshi from a manuscript in the possession of the Asiatic

Society of Bengal.

EXTRACTS

Origin of this work

When this humble and insignificant slave Ghiyasu-d din, son of Humamu-d din, alias Khondamir,—may God facilitate all difficulties to him!—obtained the honour of meeting this great king, and the rays of royal kindness

shone on the surface of his hopes and circumstances, he conceived the desire and entertained the idea in his mind that he would describe, as a memorial for future days, some of the works and inventions of this monarch; because the histories of kings, by means of the black water of ink, which has the effect of the water of life, are immortalized, and the great names and writings of clever authors, by virtue of their praises of celebrated kings, are stamped on the page of time. For instance, the excellencies of Mahmud were described by 'Utbi and 'Unsuri, and the poems of Mu'izzi and Anwari celebrated the character of Sanjar.

"Who would remember Hakim Anwari,
Had he not spoken about Sanjar and his works?
Because 'Utbi conferred praises on Mahmud,
Therefore he obtained the object of his desire.
Sharaf was celebrated in the world,
Because he wrote the eulogy of Timur Gurgan."

Although the compiler of this book, on account of his having little knowledge and possessing no ability, withheld his tongue from commencing the history of this renowned monarch's exploits and deeds, and did not allow the pen which possessed two tongues to describe the character of this most prosperous king, yet he always entertained that desire in his faithful heart, and the intention never forsook his mind. One night which was full of light, this insignificant man (the author), having obtained the honour of being present in his Majesty's Court at Gwalior, was ordered to sit down, and the fingers of the generosity of that sun of the heaven of glory opened the gates of kindness to him, and the tongue of that king of kings, who was as dignified as Alexander the Great, pronounced these pleasing words: "It seems proper and desirable that the inventions of my auspicious mind, and the improvements of my enlightened understanding, should be arranged in a series, and written

down, in order that in future ages the light of these happy works may shine among the people of countries near and remote." Consequently the writer, who was wishing for a long time that such an order might pass, engaged, like his pen, in writing these very interesting subjects; and having commenced to mention the wonderful inventions, he has imparted eloquence to the pen which possesses two tongues. He hopes that through the favour of the Almighty God, these pages, which contain useful things, will meet the approbation of the most clever characters of the high Court, and that they will view these lines of the book of eloquence with the eye of acceptance, and overlook the mistakes which may have been committed therein by the dificient tongue of the pen.

ACCESSION OF HUMAYUN

In the begining of Jumada-l awwal, A.H. 937, when the King, who was as dignified as Sulaiman, whose seat is now Paradise, viz., Zahiru-d din Muhammad Babar, left the thone of this world for the eternal heaven, the celestial herald of the Supreme Lord raised the pleasing cry, "We made you king on the earth," to the ears of this rightful prince, and the hand of the kindness of the Creator of souls and substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the World.

"The hope which was excited by prosperity is now realized;
The desire which the world entertained is satisfied."

On Friday, the 9th of the said month, in the Jama'masjid at Agra, the khutba was read in the name and title of this noble king, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people reached beyond the heavens.

AUSPICIOUS OMENS

Among the other wonderful accidents which happened to

the great Nawab, one was that in the year in which the late king, who was as dignified as Sulaiman and destined to enter paradise, marched with prosperity from Kabul towards Kandahar, he left this sun of the heaven of royalty and power (Humayun) in trust of the government duties. One day the latter rode on his horse, and went to ramble about in the forest, hills, gardens, and meadows. On the road he wished to take an omen, and having called the great Maulana, Masihu-d din Ruhu-lla, who was his tutor, he told him it had just entered his. mind that he should ask any three persons who might first come before him their names, and take an from them. The Maulana said it would be proper if he asked only one man's name; but the King was firm in his resolution. After they had gone a little distance, they saw a man about forty years of age; and on their asking him his name, he replied, "Murad Khwaja." After him another person, driving an ass loaded with wood, came before them; and when they inquired of himfor his name, he said, "Daulat Khwaja." On this it passed from the secret-telling tongue of the king that if the name of the third person who might happen to meet them should be Sa'adat Khwaja, it might be considered a very curious accident; and the star of success, according to the omen, would rise from the horizon of prosperity. At this moment a boy, who was leading cattle to graze, came in sight; and when they asked him what was his name, he answered, "Saadat Khwaja." This excited, of course, great wonder and surprise in all the people who accompanied the King, and they were all sure that this prosperous prince would soon, by the Divine assistance, attain the highest pitch of fortune and glory; and the hand of the favour of God would open to him the gates: of success in all his sacred and worldly hopes.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PEOPLE

When the auspicious throne of royalty was filled by this:

dignified and brave monarch, all the officers of the State and inhabitants of the kingdom were divided into three classes. The brothers and relations of the king, the nobles and ministers, as well as the military men, were called Ahl-i Daulat (officers of the State) because it is evident that—according to the words, "There can be no dominion without men"—no degree of wealth and prosperity can be attained without the assistance of this class of brave and courageous people; and no one can obtain the throne and power without the aid of warriors and heroes.

"Kings, with the assistance of their army, Place their feet upon the throne of empires. He alone can obtain wealth and rank Who is assisted by his army."

The holy persons, the great mushaikhs (religious men), the respectable saiyids, the literati, the law officers, the scientific persons, poets, besides other great and respectable men, formed the second class, and were denominated Ahl-i Sa'adat (good men), because to observe, honour, and regard these people, and to associate with such men, secures eternal prosperity, and enables men to rise to high dignities and ranks.

"Virtue is the gift of God:

It is not in the power of the mighty man to obtain it.

If you wish to obtain fortune,

You must associate with virtuous men."

Those who possessed beauty and elegence, those who were young and most lovely, also clever musicians and sweet singers, composed the third class, and the appellation of Ahl-i Murad (people of pleasure) was conferred on them, because most people take great delight in the company of such young-looking men, of rosy cheeks and sweet voices, and are pleased by hearing their songs, and the pleasing sound of the musical instruments, such as the harp, the sackbut, and the lute.

"The hope of the heart of lovers
Is never realized but when they meet
persons whose cheeks are rosy.
He who is fond of hearing songs and
music
Has the gates of happiness opened for
himself."

APPORTIONMENT OF TIME

According to this classification, the wise king also divided the days of the week, and appointed one day for each of these three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for pious men, and visits were received on these days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the tree of the hope of this estimable body of the people produced the fruit of prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-resembling Court. The reason why these two days were appointed for this class was, that Saturday is ascribed to Saturn, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families; and Thursday is appropriated to Jupiter, who is the preserver of the saiyids, the learned men, and the strict followers of the Muhammadan law. Sundays and Tuesdays were fixed for the State Officers; and all the government business and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, the destroyer of enemies, sat in the public court, and consequently all the nobles and plebeians were able to obtain the honour of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the State affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom, according to the will of God, is attached the fates of all rulers and kings; and Tuesday is the day of Mars, who is the patron of warriors and brave men. Hence it is evident that to adorn the throne of sovereignty in the public court-hall by his royal sessions on these two days, and to devote

himself to the discharge of the government duties, wasvery proper. Amongst the other customs which were introduced by this just and generous King, and were observed on the days of the sessions, one was, that when he adorned the throne of royalty by sitting on it, drums were beaten, to inform the people, who, immediately on hearing their noise, came to see him; and when he left the Court, the gunners fired guns to let the people know that they might retire. Also on those days the keeper of the wardrobe used to bring some suits of fine apparel, and the treasurer several purses of money, and they placed them in the Court in order that rewards and robes might be given to any one from them, and no delay should take place. Also that several persons who resembled Bahram, having put on coats of mail, and taken blood-drinking swords in their hands, stood before the throne to seize and punish those who might be proved guilty. Mondays and Wednesdays were allotted for pleasure parties, and on these days some of the old companions and chosen friends were convened, and a band of musicians and singers was called, and they were all satisfied in their wishes. The cause of appointing these days for this purpose was, that Monday is the day of the Moon, and Wednesday of Mercury; and it was therefore reasonable that on these days he should keep company with young men beautiful as the moon, and hear sweet songs, and delightful music. On Fridays, as the name (juma') imports, he called together all the assemblies, and sat with them as long as he found leisure from his other duties.

SYMBOLS OF OFFICE

Another invention of this King was, that he got three arrows of gold made, and called them each after the name of the three classes above mentioned. Each of these was given to one of the most confidential persons of the respective classes, and this person was to manage

all the affairs of that class. As long as the man who was entrusted with the arrow conducted the duties attached to him with such care as to insure the pleasure of God and satisfaction of the King, he was maintained in the trust. But when he was intoxicated by the effect of the wine of arrogance and pride, or when his foresight was obscured by the dimness of negligence, and he did not look after his business, but through his misfortune thought only of collecting riches, then the arrow of his wishes failed to hit the point of success, and he was ordered to be removed from office by the pen of destiny for his insolent deeds

GRADATIONS OF RANK

Among the customs introduced by this King, one was, that of the distribution of arrows, by means of which the distinction of ranks and stations among servants of the throne was marked. The pen of eloquence thus writes a full detail of this particular head. According to the different standards of gold, the ranks of all the people composing the three classes were divided into twelve orders or arrows, and every one received a grade and rank suitable to himself. The twelfth arrow, which was made of the purest gold, was put in the auspicious quiver of this powerful King, and nobody could dare to touch it. The eleventh arrow belonged to His Majesty's relations and brethren, and all the Sultans who were in the government employ. Tenth, to the great mushaikhs, saiyids, and the learned and religious men. Ninth, to the great nobles. Eighth, to the courtiers and some of the King's personal attendants. Seventh, to the attendants in general. Sixth, to the harems, and to the well-behaved female attendants. Fifth, to the young maid-servants. Fourth, to the treasurers and stewards. Third, to the soldiers. Second, to the menial servants. First, to the palace guards, camel drivers, and the like. Each of these arrows or orders had three grades; the highest, the middle, and the lowest.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Another of the arrangements of this king was, that he divided all the affairs of government into four departments, after the number of the four elements, viz. the Atashi, Hawai, A'bi, and Khaki; and for conducting the business of these departments he appointed four ministers. The department to which belonged the artillery and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things in which assistance was taken from fire, was called Atashi; and the superintendence of this department was placed under Khwaja 'Amidu-l Mulk, and the fire of his care inflamed the ovens of the hearts of those who were employed on these works. The duties connected with the wardrobe, kitchen, stable, and other great and important offices belonged to the Hawai department, and the care of them was entrusted to Khwaja Lutf-ulla. The Sharbat-Khana, Suji-khana, the digging of canals, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were comprised in the A'bi department, and its superintendent was Khwaja Hasan. Agriculture, erection of buildings, resumption of Khalisa lands, and some household affairs formed a department which was called Khaki, and this was placed under the management of Khawaja Jalalu-d din Mirza Beg. Formerly one of the nobles was ordered to took after each department. For instance, Amir Nasir Kuli supervised the fire department, and he always used to put on red clothes. After his death, the cypress of the garden of dignity and grandeur, Mir Nihal, was appointed to the same duty. But in the days when the compiler wrote these pages, the supervision of all the four departments was entrusted to the care of the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amir Wais Muhammad.

BUILDING OF DIN PANAH

Another great work of this just and generous King was the city of Dinpanah, which was really the asylum of religious men. The musk-resembling pen perfumes the the minds of good people by writing an account of its foundation. In the month of Sha'ban, A. H. 939 (1533 A. D.), when the fort of Gwalior was made the object of envy to the high revolving heavens by the royal presence, the great King one night sat there on the Imperial throne, and having ordered all his great courtiers and learned companions to sit down, conversed with them on various topics. In this discourse he poured from this tongue the secrets of the pearls of these words, that long time since it was his intention to found near the capital of Dehli a large city, the ramparts of which from their loftiness might open the tongue of reproach and scorn at Khawarnak and Sawir, the palaces of Bahram, and that the keeper of its bastions might claim equality with Saturn. Also that in this city a magnificient palace of seven storeys should be erected, surrounded by delightful gardens and orchards, of such elegance and beauty, that its fame might draw people from the remotest corners of the world for its inspection. That the city should be the asylum of wise and intelligent persons, and be called Dinpanah. Those who were present in the assembly which resembled paradise, opened their tongues in approbation and applause of such a scheme. At the same time it was discovered by the most witty and clever Maulana Shahabu-d din Ahmad Mu'ammai, that the numerical value of the words Shahr-i padshah Dinpanah was 940, and he said that if the city was built in that year it would be a very remarkable fact. The same moment these words were brought to the notice of the King, who, as well as all the officers of the high Court, was greatly struck with them. All persons that were present at the time began to sing with their tongues the following stanza before His Majesty, who understood the excellencies of poetry well:

"The picture which your imagination draws on your mind,

Nothing contrary to it is done by the hand of destiny.

What your understanding writes on a leaf Agrees with the book of the Will of God."

In short, the King accordingly fixed the resolution in enlightened mind. After, under the protection of the Almighty God, he had returned from Gwalior to Agra, he turned the reins of his world-travelling horse, in the beginning of the month of Zi-l hijja, A. H. 939, towards the city of Dehli. When he had reached the city, which was as beautiful as heaven, safe under the care of God from all evils, and had taken omens and religious advice, a rising ground adjacent to the banks of the stream of Jumna, about three kos from the city, was selected for

the foundation of the city of Dinpanah.

In the middle of the month of the sacred Muharram, A. H. 940 at an hour which was prescribed by the most clever astrologers and the greatest astronomers, all the great mushaikhs (religious men) the respectable saiyids, the learned persons, and all the elders of the city of Dehli, accompanied the King, who was as generous as the ocean, to the spot, prayed the Almighty God to finish the happy foundation of that city, and to strengthen the basis of the king's wealth. First, His Majesty with his holy hand put a brick on the earth, and then each person from that concourse of great men placed a stone on the ground, and they all made such a crowd there that the army, people, and the artists, masons, and labourers found no room or time to carry stones and mud to the spot. On the same date work was also commenced in the king's own palace.

At this time, i.e. the latter part of the month of Shawwal of the same year, the walls, bastions, ramparts, and the gates of the city of Dinpanah are nearly finished.

TARIKHI-I RASHIDI OF HAIDAR MIRZA DOGHLAT

(The writer of this valuable work was the son of Muhammad Husain Mirza, who was the eldest son of Haidar Mirza Doghlat, Amir of Kashghar. Muhammad Husain married the younger sister of the Emperor Babar's mother. So our author, Haidar Mirza, was first cousin of Babar, and he seems to have inherited from his mother no small share of that ability and vigour which distinguished his more eminent relative. His father, Muhammad Husain, was put to death at Hirat in 914 (1508 A. D.), under the orders of Shaibani Khan. Haidar Mirza himself was also doomed, but he was concealed and saved. In the following year Babar sent for him to Kabul, and there received him with considerate and generous affection, of which the Mirza speaks in the warmest terms of gratitude. "It was a sad day," says he, "that deprived me of my father; but, through the unremitting kindness of the Emperor, I never felt the loss. . . During the whole time of my stay with him, he always conducted himself towards me with parental observance and affection."

Haider Mizra was as bold and adventurous as Baban himself, and played a notable part in widely distant places. He was actively engaged as a military leader in Badakhshan and Kashghar, and seems to have there given proofs of eminent military talents. Nor was he at all deficient in that literary ability which distinguished his cousin. He saw much, and he observed and recorded what passed under his own eyes, and what he learnt from diligent inquiry. "The Tarikh-i Rashidi," says Erskine, well deserves to be published in the original or translated. It is the production of a learned and accomplished man;

and, in the two latter parts of a contemporary, intimately acquainted with the men and events he describes."

"The history of the Khans of the Mughals, and of the Amirs of Kashghar, subsequent to Timur Tughlik Khan, forms the proper subject of the first two books. These details are the more valuable as the succession of the Mughal Khans, and of the Amirs of Kashghar from that period is not contained in any other work with which I am acquainted." In the writer's own time, "Central Asia was in a transition state, which ended in the settlement of the Uzbeks in Transoxiana, of the Kirghiz confederacy in Mughalistan, and of the Chaghatai Turks in India. The minute details which the author gives of his own sufferings, and of the sufferings of his nearest relations, during the period that followed the ascendancy of Shaibani Khan in Mawaru-n nahr and Khurasan, of their escapes, adventures, successes, and discomfitures, let us more into the condition of the country and feelings of the inhabitants of these states and of Kashghar at that crisis, than perhaps any other monument extant. A portion of the last book relates to the history of Kashmir and Hindustan, and the whole work is interspersed with geographical accounts of countries, especially to east of Mawarau-n nahr, little known in Europe. The rise and fall of several tribes, or associations of tribes, in the desert, are recorded with much clearness and a prefect acquaintance with their external and internal policy. It would form a most valuable accompaniment to the commentaries of Babar, which it illustrates in every page. The two royal cousins are worthy of each other, and do honour to their age."

Haider Mirza's notices of India are fragmentary, and are confined to what passed under his own observation; but they give a vivid picture of the disorder and incapacity which marked the early reign of Humayun, and were the causes of his downfall. In the course of his adven-

turous life Haidar Mirza had served in Kashmir, and while he was acting as governor of Lahore on behalf of Prince Kamran, a number of malcontent nobles of that country endeavoured to obtain his aid in dethroning their unpopular ruler. He entered warmly into the project, but the troubles of Hindustan delayed its execution. After pssing into the service of Humayun, and witnessing the disastrous rout of Kanauj, described in one of the following Extracts, he endeavoured to induce Humayun tosecure a refuge and a vantage-round in Kashmir. The Emperor was inclined to follow his advice, and sent some forces to enter upon the conquest of that country. But his plans were thwarted by his brother Kamran, and he was compelled to fly beyond the Indus. Haidar Mirza soon showed the practicability of the advice he had tendered. With a force of only 4000 men he marched against Kashmir, and evading the troops drawn up to oppose him, he made his way secretly by unfrequented routes to Srinagar the capital, and captured it without opposition in Rajab, 947 (November, 1540). The whole country fell into his possession, and he successfully resisted the attempts of the dethroned prince to recover his kingdom, although Sher Shah aided the exile. Haider Mirza ruled the land which he had won with great wisdom and ability, and so recruited its resources that it was restored to prosperity and happiness. He reigned for eleven years, and was eventually killed in a night attack by a party of conspirators in 958 (1551 A. D.). To his honour be it recorded, he did not in his prosperity forget his unfortunate kinsman the Emperor Humayun, but urged him to come to Kashmir, and to make that country a point d'appui for the recovery of his lost empire.

The MS. used is a small 4to. belonging to the Nawab of Jhajjhar containing 729 pages, of fourteen lines each. There is a transcript of this MS. among Sir H. Elliot's MSS. It seems to differ occasionally from the

MS. used by Erskine, as may be seen by comparing the following extracts with those given by Erskine).

EXTRACTS

Defeat of Humayun at Kanauj

When all the brothers were assembled, they conferred together upon the state of affairs. The discussion was protracted, but no profitable decision was arrived at; in fact, nothing was proposed that was worthy of the occasion, for as it is said, "When Fortune's adverse, minds are perverse." Kamran Mirza was very anxious to return, but Humayun disregarded all his representations. Seven months were wasted in weary indecision, until the opportunity was lost, and Sher Khan was on the Ganges ready for war. In the midst of this confusion Kamran Mirza became very ill. The climate of Hindustan had brought on some serious disorders.1 When he had thus suffered for two or three months, he lost the use of his hands and feet. As no medicine or treatment relieved him, he became the more desirous of departing to Lahore. At length his maladies so increased, that he made up his mind to return thither. This departure of Kamran Mirza was the turning-point in the rise of Sher Khan and the downfall of the Chaghatai power. The Emperor greatly urged him to leave some of his officers and forces as auxiliaries, but Kamran Mirza, on the contrary, did all he could to induce all men of Agra to go away with him, and strenously rejected the proposal to leave his own army behind. Mir Khawaja Kalan, who was his prime minister, also exterted himself to the same purpose. Kamran Mirza sent him on in advance, and then followed in person.

While this was passing, Sher Khan advanced to the banks of the Ganges, and passed this army over. Kuth Khan, his son, marched towards Etawa and Kalpi.

The various complications are specified.

These territories were the ikta's of Husain Sultan, who was one of the Uzbek Sultans, and Yadgar Nasir Mirza, son of Nasir Mirza, the brother of the Emperor Babar. Part of Kalpi belonged to Kamran Mirza, and he had sent to that district Iskandar Sultan as his representative. These three persons marched against Kuth Khan, who was slain in the battle and they gained a complete victory. The Emperor now marched from Agra towards the Ganges against Sher Khan. (The writer goes on to explain at length his reasons for leaving Kamran and joining the Emperor). Although Mirza Kamran would not consent to my parting from him, I remained behind without his consent. Kamran Mirza himself, shamefully leaving only Iskandar Sultan with about 1000 men as auxiliaries, went off to Lahore, taking with him all the men of Agra he could carry with him; thus giving strength to the enemy and prepairing defeat for his friends. The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Khan on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 200,000 men. Muhammad Sultan Mirza, of the house of Timur, and grandson by a daughter of Sultan Husain (of Khurasan), had come to India to wait upon the Emperor Babar, and had been received with every mark of kindness and kingly favour. After Babar's death he had several times revolted against Humayun but being unsuccessful, he had sought forgiveness, and had been pardoned. Now having colluded with Sher Khan, he deserted. A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert, and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Khan, and so could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Kamran's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore.

Among the equipments which were in the train of the Emperor were 700 carriages (gardun), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks, and carrying a swivel (zarb-zan), which discharged a ball (kalola) of 500 miskals weight. I myself several times saw that from the top of an eminence they unfailingly (be-khata) struck horsemen who slightly and unsuspectingly exposed themselves. And there were twenty-one carriages, each drawn by eight pairs of bullocks. Stone balls were of no use in these, but the shots were of molten brass, and weighed 5,000 miskals, and the cost of each was 200 miskals of silver. They would strike anything that was visible at the distance of a parasang.

As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case we could not at least be accused of having abandoned an empire like Hindustan without striking a blow. Another consideration was, that if we passed the river, desertion would be no longer possible. We therefore

crossed over.

skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground, rendering it unfit for a camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such a deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was proposed to move to a rising ground which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose. I said that we would on the morrow try the enemy on the touchstone of experience, for he ought not to attack while we were on the march, as the arraying of an army at the

time of marching is contrary to sound judgement.2 The morrow was the 10th of Muharram, and we must keep our forces well under control until we see if the enemy comes out of his trenches and advances against us. Then at last a regular pitched battle will be fought between us. The proper plan for us is to place the mortars (deg) and swivels (zarb-zan) in front; and the gunners, nearly 5,000 in number, must be stationed with the guns. If he does come out to attack us, there is no time or place more suitable than this for battle. If he does not come out of his entrenchments, we must remain drawn up till about mid-day, and then return to our position. Next day we must act just in the same way. Then the baggage must move to the new position, and we must follow and occupy the place. This scheme of mine met with general approbation.

On the 10th Muharram, 948 H. we mounted to carry the plan into effect, and formed our array. As had been determined, the carriages (gardun) and mortars (deg) and small guns (topakchiyan) were placed in the centre. The command of the guns was given to Muhammad Khan Rumi, the sons of Ustad 'Ali Kuli, Ustad Ahmad Rumi, and Husain Khalifa. They placed the carriages and mortars (deg) in their proper positions, and stretched chains between them. In other divisions there were amirs of no repute, men who were amirs only in name.

²dar waqt-i kuch u muqabila nabayad ki bawaqt-i kuch musaf khilaf rayi bashad.

Erskine or his M.S. makes better sense of this passage, but the words of our MS. will not admit of the interpretation. His version runs thus: "I represented that when we did march, it would be desirable to divert the attention of the enemy by engaging them in skirmishes, as it would not do to be drawn into a general action, when the army was marching to change its ground."

They had got possession of the country but they had not a tincture of prudence or knowledge, or energy or emulation, or nobility of mind, or generosity—qualities from which nobility draws its name. The Emperor had posted the author of this work upon his left, so that his right flank should be on the Emperor's left. In the same position he had placed a force of chosen troops. On my left, all my retainers were stationed. I had 400 chosen men, inured to warfare and familiar with battle, fifty of whom were mounted on horses accoutred with armour. Between me and the river (jui-bar) there was a force of twenty-seven amirs, all of whom carried the tugh banner. In this position, also, were the other components of the left wing, and they must be judged of by the others. On the day of battle, when Sher Khan, baving formed his divisions, marched out, of all these twentyseven tugh banners not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance upon them. The soldiership and bravery of the amirs may be conceived from this exhibition of courage.

Sher Khan came out in five divisions of 1,000 men each, and in advance of him (peshtar i o) were 3,000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatai force as about 40,000, all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the amirs and officers of the army was such as I have described. When Sher Khan's army came out of its entrenchments, two divisions (jauk), which seemed to be equal to four divisions, drew up in that place, and three divisions advanced against their opponents. On our side I was leading the centre, to take up the position which I had selected; but when we reached the ground, we were unable to occupy it: for every amir and wazir in the Chaghatai army, whether he be rich or poor, has his ghulams. An amir of note with his 100 retainers and

followers has 500 servants and ghulams, who in the day of battle render no assistance to their master and have no control over themselves. So in whatever place there was a conflict, the ghulams were entirely ungovernable. When they lost their masters, they were seized with panic, and blindly rushed about in terror.³ In short it was impossible to hold our ground. They so pressed upon us in the rear, that they drove the centre upon the chains stretched between the chariots, and they and the soldiers dashed each other upon them. Those who were behind so pressed upon those who were in front, that they broke through the chains. The men who were posted by the chains were driven beyond it, and the few who remained behind were broken, so that all formation was destroyed.

Such was the state of the centre. On the right Sher Khan advanced in battle array; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp followers fled like chaff before the wind, and breaking the line they all pressed towards the centre. The ghulams whom the commanders had sent to the front rushed to the lines of chariots, the whole array was broken, and the mir was separated from his men, and the men from the mir. While the centre was thus thrown into disorder, all the fugitives from the right bore down upon it. So before the enemy had discharged an arrow, the whole army was scattered and defeated. I had estimated the Chaghatai army as numbering 40,000 men, excluding the camp followers (ghulam) and workmen (shagirdpesha). They fled before 10,000 men, and. Sher Khan gained a victory, and the Chaghatais were defeated in this battle-field where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded. Not a gun was fired, and the chariots (gardun) were uscless.

When the Chaghatais took to flight, the distance

³ This idea is expressed by a simile borrowed from falconry.

between their position and the Ganges might be nearly a parasang. All the amirs and braves (bahaduran) fled for safety to the river, without a man of them having received a wound. The enemy persued them, and the Chaghatais, having no time to throw off their armour and coats, plunged into the river. They breadth of the river might be about five bowshots. Many illustrious amirs were drowned, and each one remained or went on at his will. When we came out of the river, His Majesty, who at mid-day had 17,000 workmen in attendance upon his Court, was mounted upon a horse which had been given to him by Tardi Beg, and had nothing on his head or feet. "Permanence is from God, and dominion is from God." Out of 1,000 retainers, eight persons came out of the river; the rest had perished in the water. The total loss may be estimated from this fact. When we reached Agra, we made no tarry, but, broken and dispirited, in a state heart-rending to relate, we went on to Lahore. On the new moon of Rabi'u-l. awwal, 947 H., the princes, amirs, and people had drawn together at Lahore. The throng was so great that it was difficult to move about, and still more difficult to find a lodging. Every one acted as his fears or his interests led him. The state of the s

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TAZKIRATU-L WAKI'AT OF JAUHAR

These are the private Memoirs of the Emperor Humayun written by his aftabchi, or ewer-bearer, Jauhar. They have been translated into English by Major Stewart, and published by the Oriential Translation Fund, Lond. (1832). (The MS. used by Stewart bore the above title, under which the work has become generally known, but in Sir H. Elliot's copy of the MS. the author is made to name the work Humayun Shahi. It is also called Tarikh-i Humayun.). These Memoirs afford much amusement from the naive and simple style in which they are written. The author was a constant attendant upon the Emperor, both during his adversities and successes, and is so devoted an admirer of his patron, that he rarely sees anything to reproach in his conduct. He gives the most trival details with the utmost candour and gravity, thinking nothing too insignificant to relate of so great an Emperor. "Let no one," says Dion, after recording (lib. lxxii. 18, 18) some of the public exposures and debaucheries of Commodus-"Let no one reprove me for degrading the importance of history because I write such things. In another case I would not have written them; but since they were done by an Emperor, and I myselfsaw and heard them, I thought it right to conceal nothing, and to transmit these matters for the information of posterity, as if they had been of the utmost consequence."

Of himself Jauhar says, "I was at all times, and in all stations, in constant attendance on the royal person; it therefore occurred to me as desirable that I should write a narrative of all the events to which I had been an eye writness, that it may remain as a record of the

past interesting occurrences. I have endeavoured to explain them to the best of my humble ability, although in a style very inferior to the dignity of the subject. I commenced this work in the year 995 (A.D. 1587), and have named it the Tazkiratu-l Waki'at, 'Relation of Occurrences.' It is not my intention to narrate all the occurrences which have taken place during the late reign, but I shall confine myself to those operations in which His Majesty was personally concerned. I shall therefore commence this work with Humayun's ascending the throne, and shall conclude with his return from Persia and his regaining the sovereignty. I shall further explain with what fortitude and preseverance the Emperor encountered so many hardships and difficulties, and through the favour of the Almighty God, thereby recovered his dominions, in the hope that this book may hand down the name of the author to posterity, and inform mankind of these extraordinary events."

(The Memoirs bear all the appearance of truth and honesty, and are to a great degree exempt from that exaggeration and fulsome eulogy to which Oriental biogarphers are prone. But the fact of their having been commenced full thirty years after the death of Humayun greatly diminishes their claim to be considered a faithful and exact account of the occurrences they record. They are not contemporary records of the events as they occurred, but reminiscences of more than thirty years' standing, so that, whatever the sincerity and candour of the writer, time must have toned down his impressions, and memory had doubtless given a favourable colour to the recollections he retained of a well-beloved master. The conversations and observations attributed to the various personages who figure in his Memoirs must therefore contain quite as much of what the author thought they might or ought to have said as of what really was uttered. A disher or almost add Harlo avitament a gifter

When Humayun recovered Lahore, he immediately

divided the appointments of the province among his adherents, and Jauhar was appointed collector of the village of Haibatpur. Before he departed, the King told him a familiar story as a warning against extortion. Jauhar made a courtly reply, and proceeded to his charge. Upon arriving in the district, he found that it had been the custom of the Afgan farmers to give their wives or children in pledge to the Hindu bankers for money advanced on account of the collections. Therefore, the first thing he did was to collect all the grain that had been hidden in dry pits, and having sold it, he paid the bankers and liberated the families of the peasants. On hearing of this affair His Majesty was much pleased, and promoted him to the collectorship of the villages belonging to the Afghan chief Tatar Khan Lodi. Soon after he had an opportunity of displaying his energy and determination. The Punjab having been left without troops, in consequence of Humayun's onward march, a body of 400 Afghans entered the province of Lahore, and began to plunder. The collectors met to consult, and by Jauhar's advice they collected all the men they could, and placing themselves under the command of a brave and active young man, they fell upon them by surprise, defeated them, and took five of their chiefs prisoners. Jauhar does not tell us what position he held when he wrote his Memoirs, but it is evident that he became a man of some mark. Abu-l Fazl mentions his appointment to the district of Haibatpur, and subsequently speaks of him as "Mihtar Jauhar, treasurer of the Panjab.")

Humayun's conquest of Chunar

His Majesty then inquired from his ministers and nobles what intelligence there was of Sher Khan Afghan, where he was, what he was doing, and what he was intent upon? He was informed that Sher Khan had taken the fort of Rohtas and Bahrkunda, that he had been for some time

besieging the capital of Bengal, and was upon the point of taking it. Upon hearing this untoward news, His Majesty exclaimed to his nobles. "To what a pitch the daring of these Afghans had reached; please God, we will tomorrow march to the fort of Chunar." His Majesty then questioned Rumi Khan as to the powers of resistence of the fortress, and he replied that by the Emperor's good fortune, and the favour of the Almighty, they would take the fortress by force. Thereupon the Imperial forces marched towards Chunar, and on the Shab-i barat they came to five kos distance from the fort. The engineer (Rumi Khan) then debated with himself how he could find out the exact condition of the fortress, what bastion he ought to attack, and on which side he should mine. He had a slave named Khalafat, whom in furtherance of his plan he so flogged that the weals were visible upon his body. He then directed him to go into the fortress, and say that he was the slave of Rumi Khan, and that his master had so beaten him without any cause that he had fled and sought protection with them. So he was to find out the particulars of the fortress and return. He acted in accordance with these instructions. When the Afghans saw his condition, and the marks of the chastisement plainly visible on his body, they believed him, and strove to heal his wounds. One day the slave proposed to the Afghans, that if they saw no objection they should show him the defences of the fortress, and he would advise as to the best means of resisting the guns which Rumi Khan had planted, so that the garrision might be safe. The Afghans complied with his proposition. After staying a few days in the fortress, and making his observations, the salve made his escape, and returned to his master, whom he acquainted with the exact condition of the fortress. He advised him to attack the bastion on the river-side, and to construct a mine on that same side. Rumi Khan brought up his guns and battered the

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bastion, and he placed other batteries under his various officers. . . .

Rumi Khan then sought His Majesty's permission to construct a floating battery, by means of which he proposed to cut the garrison off from the water, and prevent them from being able to maintain life. The royal order was given for him to do what he deemed expedient. Under this authority he employed himself for six months in constructing a battery upon three boats, so high that on the top of it all the soldiers of the garrison were plainly discernible. When it was completed, he sought the royal authority to move his battery, make it fast to the fortress, and carry the place by storm. Permission being given, the attack was kept up till mid-day, and the royal army lost nearly 700 men. For all their efforts they could not take the place, and the garrison by their fire smashed one portion of the battery.1 Next morning Rumi Khan again prepared his battery. The Afghans saw that the assaliants were resolute and vigorous, and that the place must soon fall, so they proposed to capitulate. Under His Majesty's command the garrison marched out, and the royal forces took possession of the fortress. Rumi Khan, being very irate and furious, cut off both hands of 300 gunners and others who had formed part of the garrison. When His Majesty was informed of this, he was very angry with Rumi Khan, and declared that no injury ought to be inflicted on men who had surrendered. After the capture of the fort a grand banquet was given and great rejoicings were made; rewards were distributed and great honours were bestowed. His Majesty then asked Rumi Khan to the fortress and to the way would deal with it. The Khan replied, that if the place were in his hands he would not allow a Bengali to approach within a kos of it. And upon His Majesty ask-

¹Mukhalifan az maratib-i sar-kob mikdar-i yak sar-kobra ba zarb-i zangdar ham shikastand.

ing who ought to be placed in command of it, he replied, that he knew of no one fit for the position but Beg Mirak. Upon his advice His Majesty placed Beg Mirak in command of the fortress. This counsel so incensed all the nobles against Rumi Khan, that they conspired against him, and caused poison to be placed in his cup, so that he died.

Humayun in Bengal 2

The King moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Gaur, the capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afghans. After cleansing and prepairing the city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province into jagirs among his officers; after which he very unaccountably shut himself up in his harem, and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the King had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khan had killed 700 Mughals, had laid siege to the fortress of Chunar, and taken the city of Benares; and had also sent forward an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanauj; that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners with all the sent M. Lawrent tone and a 10 Miles to Rohtas.

DEFEAT OF HUMAYUN AT CHUPA-GHAT³

As soon as the peace was concluded, the treacherous Sher Khan summoned his principal officers and said to them, "Is there any of you brave enough to go and storm the Mughal camp?" At first not one of the Afghan Officers would undertake the task. At length a person called Khawas Khan⁴ said, "If he would give him a detachment

²Stewart, p. 12.

³Stewarts' Translation, p. 17

⁴Of the Khassa-khail.—MS.

of good soldiers, and a number of war-elephants, he would attempt it, and exert himself to the utmost;" adding, "this is a business of chance but let us see to

whom God will give the victory."

Sher Khan was much pleased with Khaws Khan's proposal and gave him his choice of all the troops and several war-elephants; but although the detachment marched from the camp at ten o' clock of the morning,5 the artful general loitered about till night. In the meantime Shaikh Khalil sent off a messenger to His Majesty, cautioning him to be on his guard; but "when fate descends, caution is vain. . . .

The King would not believe the information, or that Sher Khan would be guilty of such a breach of honour and religion, and passed the night without taking any precutions. But just as the sun rose next morning, the Afghans entered the rear of our encampment, made a dreadful uproar, and caused the greatest confusion both among the troops and followers. His Majesty, on hearing the noise, ordered the kettle-durms to be beaten, and in a short time about 300 cavalry assembled around him. In a few minutes one of the enemy's war-elephants approached; on which His Majesty made a sign to Mir Bajka, who was celebrated for his valour, and who with his two sons, Garg 'Ali and Tatta Beg, one of whom carried the King's double barrelled gun and the other the royal spear, to attack the elephant; but as none of them had the heart to do it, His Majesty snatched the spear from the hand of Garg 'Ali sppurred on his horse, and struck the elephant with such force on the forehead that he could not draw out the spear again. In the meantime an archer who was seated on the elephant discharged an arrow, which wounded the King in the arm. and the enemy began to surround him. His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but

The MS. Says, Namaz-i digar "afternoon prayer."

no one obeyed; and the Afghans having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, seized his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost; when your friends forsake you, flight is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants, he urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a water-carrier, who had distended his leathern bag(masak) with air, offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river. On reaching the northern bank, he asked the man his name, he said, "Nizam." The King replied, "I will make your name as celebrated as that of Nizamu-d din Auliya (a famous saint), and you shall sit on my throne."...

Soon after the King had remounted his throne, the water-carrier who had enabled him to cross the Ganges paid his respects; and His Majesty, remembering his royal promise, seated him for two hours upon the throne, and desired him to ask for whatever he wished.

HUMAYUN'S DEFEAT AT KANAUJ*

After the battle had raged for some time, information was brought to His Majesty that the Prince Hindal had discomfited the Afghans opposed to him, but that the left under 'Askari was complled to retreat. Mirza Haidar represented that in order to let the fugitives pass, it was requisite to loose the chains of the carriages ('araba) which formed a barricade in front of the centre. His

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The MS. says, "He came to the bank of the river, and his elephant Gard-baz was along with him. He ordered the elephant driver to break down the bridge, and then he urged his horse into the stream, with the intention of swimming over; but the current was rapid, and the horse was carried away from mim."

^{*}Stewart, p. 21.

Majesty unfortunately complied with this advice, and the chains being unloosed, the runaways passed through the line of carriages in files.

During this time, an Afghan clothed in black advanced and struck the King's horse on the forehead with a spear, on which the animal turned round and became

unmanageable.7

His Majesty afterwards related that as soon as he could control his horse, he saw the Afghans employed in plundering the carriages, and wished to have charged them, but some person caught the reins of the stead, and led him to the bank of the river. Here, while undetermined how to act, he saw an old elephant which had belonged to the late Emperor. He called to the driver to bring the elephant to him, who did so. He then mounted, and asked a eunuch who was in the howdah, what was his name. He replied, "Kafur." His Majesty then ordered the driver to carry him across the river, but the fellow refused, and said the elephant would be drowned. On which the eunuch whispered, that he suspected the driver wished to carry them over to the enemy; it would therefore be advisable to take off the fellow's head. The King said, "How shall we then make the elephant cross the river?" The enuch replied, that he understood something of driving an elephant. Upon hearing this, His Majesty drew his sword and so wounded the driver that he fell off into the water, and the eunuch stepped down from the howdah on the neck of the animal, and caused him to pass the river. His Majesty further related, that when he arrived near the bank, it was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. At length, some of

Instead of this paragraph, the words of Sir H. Elliot's MS. simply says, "A man clothed in black came and seized my bridle (jilau), and so turned the reins ('inan) of my horse."

the camp colour men,8 who were on the look out for him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and

proceeded towards Agra. . . .

The King having been joined by the Princes Hindal and 'Askari and the Mirzas Yadgar Nasir, etc., proceeded joyfully towards Agra. When they reached the village of Bhain-ganw, the peasants, who were in the habit of plundering a defeated army, stopped up the road, and one of them wounded Mirza Yadgar with an arrow. On which the Mirza said to the Prince 'Askari, "Do you go on and punish these villagers, while I stop to dress my wound." The Prince was displeased at this request, gave the Mirza some abuse, on which the other retorted in harsher language, and the Prince struck him three times with his horsewhip, which was returned with interest on the other side. When intelligence of this unpleasant fracas reached the King, he said, "They had better have vented their spite on the robbers than on each other. What has happened cannot be recalled, but let us hear no more of it." In short, the King reached Agra in b woll birs g safety. and the state of t

BATTLE OF KIPCHAK9

One of the scoundrels of the enemy approached the King, and struck him on the head with his sword, and was about to repeat the blow, when His Majesty, looking at him, said "You wretch, how dare you?"—upon which the fellow desisted; and some other officers coming up, led the King out of the battle; but he was so severely wounded, that he became weak from loss of blood, and therefore threw off his jabba (quilted coat), and gave it in

The word is tugh-banan, "nobles of the tugh banner."

⁹ Stewart, p. 94.

charge of an Abyssinian servant; but his servent being obliged to make his escape from the battle, threw away the jabba, which having been found by some of Kamran's followers, it was brought to the Prince, who immediately proclaimed that the King was killed.

At this time there only remained with His Majesty eleven persons, including servants, and the author of these pages. We therefore took him out of the battle; and as his own horse was unquiet, we mounted him on a small ambling steed, two of the chiefs supporting him on either side, and endeavouring to console him by anecdotes of former princes who had suffered similar adversity, and encouraged him to exert himself, as it was probable the enemy might pursue him. On hearing this, he resumed his fortitude, and proceeded towards the pass of Sirtun. On the march we were joined by some of the chiefs, and at nightfall reached the entrance of Sirtun. As it was then very cold, and His Majesty suffered much from weakness, a sheepskin cloak was brought and put on him,

In the morning we reached the top of the pass; and as it was then getting warm, the King dismounted on the bank of the river, performed his ablutions, and washed his wound; but as there was no carpet for prayer to be found, the humble servant, Jauhar, brought the cover of a stool of scarlet cloth, and spread it for His Majesty, who knelt thereon, and performed his devotions, and sat down facing the hible (Majesty).

facing the kibla (Mecca)

The King again mounted, and rode on to Parwan. where he alighted. At this place the only tent that could be procured was a small shamiyana (canopy), sufficient only to screen one person; under this His Majesty lay down and slept. In the morning the author of these pages awoke His Majesty, and told him it was the hour of morning prayer. He said, "My boy, as I am so severely, wounded, I cannot bear to purify myself with cold water." I represented that I had got some warm water ready for him; he then arose, performed his ablutions, and said his

prayers. He afterwards mounted his horse, but had not ridden far when he complained that the clotted blood on his clothes hurt him, and asked of the servants if they had no jama (coat) they could lend him. Bahadur Khan replied, he "had a jama, but it was one His Majesty had discarded and given to him, and he had worn it." The King said, "Never mind that, bring it." He then put it on, and gave the dress which was stained with blood to this humble servant, Jauhar, the aftabchi, and said, "Take care of this dress, and only wear it on holy days."

From Parwan we proceeded to Kahamrud, where Tahir Muhammad had the honour of paying his respects. He had pitched an old tent for the King, and had prepared an entertainment for him; but the blockhead did not bring any present, not even a spare dress. His. Majesty ordered his followers to partake of the dinner, but went himself to the edge of a fountain, where they pitched an old tent, grimed with smoke and soot, for him; but as there was no necessary tent, the humble servant went and procured two hurdles, which he fixed up as a privy. At this time an old woman came and offered His Majesty a pair of silk trousers. He said, "Although these are not proper for a man to wear, yet, as my own are defiled with blood, I will put them on." He then inquired what the woman had for her support; and on being informed, wrote an order to the collector not to demand any tribute from her in future.

SURRENDER OF KABUL TO KAMRAN¹⁰

When His Majesty left Kabul, he bestowed the government on Kasim 'Ali who had formerly been a servant of Kamran's; but notwithstanding this circumstance, he for some time refused to give up the fortress, till assured by Kamran that the King was dead, who in proof thereof produced the jabba or quilted coat; in conse-

quence of which the Prince was allowed to enter the fort, again took possession of the young Akbar. . . . After remaining a month and twenty days at Andarab. . . . the King determined on marching to oppose the rebels; but he first assembled all his chiefs, and proposed to them to take the oath of allegiance. Haji Muhammad Khan said "It was also incumbent on His Majesty to take the oath of confederacy." The Prince Hindal said, "Such a proceeding was highly improper." But the King said, "If the chiefs wished it, he would take the oath to satisfy them." In short, the oaths were ratified on both sides; and, to give the ceremony more solemnity, the King fasted all that day.

KAMRAN SURRENDERERED BY THE GAKHARS AND BLINDED11 The King received letters from Sultan Adam, chief of the Gakhars, stating that "the Prince Kamran was now in his territory, and that if His Majesty would take the trouble of coming there, he would give him up.". . . . The Prince arrived, and advanced with great humility. The King, however, received him graciously, and pointed to him to sit down on the bed on his right hand. His Majesty then sat down on the bed also, having the young Prince Akbar on his left hand. Sultan Adam, 'Abdu-l Ma'ali, and the other chiefs were also seated in due order. After some time, His Majesty called for a watermelon, one third of which he took and divided with his brother. . . . Preparations having been made for an entertainment, the whole night was passed in jollity and carousing. (Four days after) the business of Mirza Kamran was taken into consideration, and it was resolved. in the first place, to remove all his servants from him. Then the king ordered five of his own people (names) and his humble servant Jauhar, to attend upon the Prince, and he said to me, "My boy (ghulam), do you. oft bread and and generally will be beened the

ACCOUNT FOR HER DESIGNATION STORY OF THE PARTY OF THE PAR

¹¹Stewart, p. 103.

know where you are sent?" I said, "Yes, and I know your Majesty's (wishes)." He replied, "Your business it to take care of the interior of the tent, you are desired not to sleep for a moment."...

Early in the morning the King marched towards Hindustan, but before his departure determined that the Prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly; but the attendants on the Prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act. Sultan-'Ali, the paymaster, ordered 'Ali Dost to do it. The other replied, "You will not pay a Shah-Rukhi (3s. 6d.) to any person without the King's directions; therefore, why should I commit this deed without a personal order from His Majesty? Perhaps tomorrow the King may say, 'Why did you put out the eyes of my brother?' What answer could I give? Depend upon it I will not do it by your order." Thus they continued to quarrel for some time. At length, I said, "I will go and inform. the King." On which I with two others galloped after His Majesty. When we came up with him, 'Ali Dost said, in the Chaghatai Turki language, "No one will perform the business." The King replied in the same language, abused him, and said, "Why don't you do it yourself?"

After receiving this command, we returned to the Prince, and Ghulam 'Ali represented to him, in a respectful and condoling manner, that he had received positive orders to blind him. The Prince replied, "I would rather you would at once kill me." Ghulam Ali said, "We dare not exceed our orders." He then twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he with the farash seizing the Prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down, and thrust a lancet into his eyes (such was the will of God. This they repeated at least fifty times, but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees

pressed him. He then said, "Why do you sit upon my knees? What is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and he acted with great courage, till they squeezed some (lemon) juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes. He then could not forbear and called out "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world, have compassion upon me in the next." The author of these: pages seeing the Prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him. I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a very melancholy mood. The King having seen me, sent Jan Muhammad, the librarian, to ask me, "If the business I had been employed on was finished, and why I had returned without orders?" The humble servant represented that "the business 1 had been sent on was quite completed." His Majesty then said, "He need not go back, let him get the water ready for me to bathe."

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TARIKH-I ALFI OF MAULANA AHMAD, AND OTHERS

THIS work comprehends a history of Muhammadan nations up to the thousandth year of the Hijra era. It is from this circumstance that it obtains its name, Alj signifying in the Arabic language one thousand. The Emperor Akbar directed its compilation by several learned men, and may have perhaps fixed upon this particular period of one thousand years, in conformity with a notion he is said to have entertained and expressed, that the Muhammadan religion would be abolished, after lasting that period.

At the commencement of the work, many different authors were employed, but, subsequently, the chief labour devolved upon Maulana Ahmad, the son of the Kazi of Thatta,³ and the author of Khulasatu-i Hayat, "the Essence of Life." An interesting account of the different parties engaged on it is given by 'Abu-l Kadir Badauni in the following passage from his Muntakha-

bu-t Tawarikh.

"About this time (A.H. 990), Mulla Ahmad, of

² Troyer and Shea, Dabistan, vol. iii., p. 98.

Two hundred years before a similar scheme was executed by Guthrie and Grey, and there was one before theirs. See Gesch. d. sch. Redek. Persiens, p. 353. p. Cyclop. vol. xi. p. 197.

His birthplace is differently given by others. Dr. Bird calls him son of Nasrallah of Nineveh. General Briggs calls him Mulla Ahmad of Nineveh. See History of Guzerat, p. 88. Firishta, vol. i., xlix. Dabistan, vol. ii., p. 160.

Thatta, a bigot, who had the impertinence4 to call himself a physician, came from the Dekhin, and was presented at Court. His ancestors, who resided in Sind, were Farukis of the Hanifah sect, and Mulla Ahmad used, in consequence of his apostacy, to shower anathemas upof those unfortunate persons. . . In the time of Shah Tahmasp he associated in 'Irak with some heretic Iranians, but he even exceeded them, notwithstanding their notorious heresy. When Shah Ismail II deserted the faith of his father, and became a Sunni, and persecuted the heretic Shias, Mulla Ahmad accompanied Makhdum Sharki (an uncompromising Sunni, who wrote the Kitabu-n Nawafiz) on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thence he proceeded to the Dekhin, and afterwards to Hindustan, and finding no opposition to the prosecution of his designs, he began to teach his absurd doctrines,5 and invite converts to the Shi'a persuation; but in a short time he met the penalty of his evil deeds. He had as yet had no interview with Shaikh Faizi, and had not yet assumed that air of confidence, with which his intimacy with that minister inspired him when I saw him one day in the bazar, where some 'Irakis took the opportunity of mentioning my name to him in terms of praise. Upon this, he addressed me, and said, 'I see the mark of a Shi'a stamped on your forehead.' 'Just as much', I replied, 'as I see Sunni stamped upon yours.' The bystanders laughed, and were much gratified at the retort. I shall, please God! notice the close of his life in the proper place."

The Ma-asiru-l Umara does not give so sorry an account of his claim to be a physician, as will be seen below.

A The author of the Ma-asiru-l Umara, who was himself a Shia, speaks more tenderly of these absurdities. He says the Mulla was partial to religious controversy, and rarely missed an opportunity of indulging his propensity, even in mixed societies.

"The year 1,000 of the Hijra era, which is in general use, being completed,6 the Emperor Akbar ordered a. history to be written of all the Muhammadan kings, and directed that such a name should be given to the work

as to denote the year of its composition.

It was for this reason that the work was entitled Alfi. He further ordered the word Rihlat (death) to be substituted for Hijra (flight) in the different dates, and. employed seven persons to undertake the compilation from the date of the decease of the Prophet to the present day, and to mention therein the events of the whole world."

"He assigned the first year to Nakib Khan, the second to Shah Fath-ulla, and so on to Hakim Humam, Hakim 'Ali, Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi (who had just then arrived from Gujarat), Mirza Nizamu-d din, and myself; so that by such distribution thirty-five years were finished in the course of a week."

"During the period that I was compiling the events." of the seventh year, and was engaged on the life of Khalif 'Umar, the model of purity (may God be propitious to him!), I had just completed an account of the foundation of Kufa, and the destruction of Mada-in, - from the ruins of which the new city was embellished; and the marriage of Umm Kulsum, the daughter of the Amiru-l muminin 'Ali' may God be propitious to him!);

⁶ This is said in the paulo-post future sense, because the order for the composition of the Tarikh-i Alfi is recorded as one of the events of 990 H., and we find 'Abdu-l Kadir going to Lahore to revise it in 1,000 H. The translation of the Mahabharata was also ordered in 990 H.

⁷ Sprenger calls her the fifth child of Muhammad, and spells her name "Omm Kolthum." Muhammad had both wife and daughter of the name. Reinaud Blacas, vol. ii., p. 128. Univ. His., vol. i., p. 176, Ockley, p.

as well as the institution of five stated times for prayer, the fall of the city of Nasibin, and the large black scorpions which were made use of to effect its capture, when, one night, Mirza Jafar Asaf Khan thought proper to dispute the correctness of these facts. Notwithstanding this, Shaikh Abu-l Fazl and Ghazi Khan Badakhshi confirmed my assertions. Shortly afterwards, when I was asked whence I got this information, I replied that I had seen it in books, and written accordingly, and that it was not my own invention. Immediately the Rauzatu-l Ahbab and other historical books were called for from the library, and given to Nakib Khan to verify the accuracy of the statement, which, by God's grace, being found correct, I was relieved from the charge of invention."

"At the recommendation of Hakim Abu-l Fath, the compilation of the work from the thirty-sixth year was entrusted solely to Mulla Ahmad of Thatta, who, however, wrote whatever coincided with his sectarian prejudicies—a fact which is well known. The compilation of two volumes was finished up to the time of Changiz Khan, when Mirza Fulad, one night, pretending that the King had sent for Mulla Ahmad, summoned him from his house, and murdered him in a street of Lahore, in revenge for some injury which he had suffered at his hands, as well as because he was violently opposed to him in matters of religion. For this act he was sentenced to death."

"The remainder of the work was written by Asaf. Khan, up to the year 9979 H. In the year 1,000.

8 See note in appendix.

^{270.} Iriving's Successors of Mahomet, p. 133. Weil, vol. i., 144, and for others, see Index to Weil, "Umm Kolthum."

Not having seen the last part of the History, I am not able to ascertain whether it extends only to 997 H. The Ma-asiru-l Umara uses the same expression. Bird's

H.¹⁰ I was ordered to proceed to Lahore, to revise the composition, to compare it with other histories and to arrange the dates in their proper sequence. I compared the first two volumes in one year, and entrusted the third to Asaf Khan.'11

In another part of his history (A.H. 1003), 'Abdu-l Kadir again speaks of the *Tarikh-i Alfi* being divided into three books, two composed by Mulla Ahmad, "the heretic, may he meet with his deserts!" and the third by Asaf Khan (J'afar Beg). Major C. Stewart, however,

"Guzerat," p. 88, says it was completed in 995 H. The Hyderabad copy goes to 974 of the Rihlat, and a copy belonging to Wilayat Husain goes to 984 of Rihlat or 994 H.

10 In another portion of his History he says, that he presented the first volume of the edition, which had been revised by him, in the 39th year of the reign, corresponding with A.H. 1003, in which labour, his friend, Mulla Mustafa, a famous copyist of Lahore, had been associated with him. He was then asked by Akbar to revise the second, as it was full of the religious opinions of Mulla Ahmad, but he excused himself from doing more than merely revising the style, without altering the sense, or correcting the dates; in order that his enemies might not say he had been introducing his own sentiments instead of those of the author, and substituting one set of prejudices for another. As the Tarikh-i Alfi is quoted in the Tabakat-i Akbari, which is brought down only to the end of the 38th year of the reign, corresponding with 1002 H., it is evident it must have been available before 'Abdu-l Kadir had revised it.

11 Respecting him see Mirat-i Jahan-numa, p. 692, and Bagh-i m'ani, s.v., where he is said to have written the annals of 400 years. See also Ikbal-nama Jahangiri, third volume, Mirat-i Alam. Sprenger's bibl., p. 57.

their main many summer sub-case manual Lumban and Sala

12 Tabakat-1 Shah Jahan, f. 257, 286.

in his Catalogue of Tipu Sultan's Library, says it is divided into five books, and that it extends from A.D. 622 to 1592. The error of making it commence from A.D. 622 arises from his supposing that its dates refer to the Flight, instead of the Death, of Muhammad (making a difference of ten years and two months). This alteration of a universal era, and the substitution of one especially for this work, is a very objectionable feature of the Tarikh-i Alfi, excellent as it is in many other respects.

It will be observed that 'Abdu-l Kadir promised to relate further particulars of Mulla Ahmad in their proper place, and he fulfils that promise in the following passage, which affords as amusing an instance of odium

theologicum as is to be met with in any country.

"During this month (Safar, 996 A.H.). Mirza Fulad Birlas persuaded the heretic Mulla Ahmad, who was always openly reviling the first Khalifs, to leave his own house at midnight under some pretence, and then assassinated him. The chronograms of which event are, "Bravo! Fulad's stiletto!" and 'Hellish hog!" and indeed when I saw that dog in the agonies of death, I observed his countenance to be exactly like that of a hog: others also observed the same. (May God protect me from such a dreadful fate!) Mirza Fulad, was bound alive to the leg of an elephant in the city of Lahore, and thus attained martyrdom.

"When Hakim Abu-l Fath sent some one to inquire of him, whether sectarian prejudices had induced him to kill Mulla Ahmad, he replied that had that been the reason, he would have selected a more noble victim than

13 Id., f. 225.

of the copy I have used, takes a most summary revenge, by heading this passage thus: "The assassination of the blessed Mulla Ahmad by the ruthless dagger of an accursed son of a pig."

the Mulla. The Hakim reported this speech to the King, who remarked that Mirza Fulad was an implacable villian, and ought to suffer death. He therefore ordered him to be drawn, while yet living, by an elephant, although he was very nearly obtaining a pardon through the intercession of the ladies¹⁵ of the royal household. The Mulla expired three or four days after the Mirza.

"It is said, that when the Shi'as were bathing the Mulla previous to burial, they fixed, according to the observances of their religion, a tent peg in his back, and dipped him several times in the river, and that when he was buried, Shaikh Faizi and Shaikh 'Abu-l Fazl appointed watchmen to guard his tomb; notwithstanding which, when the Court departed for Kashmir, the people of Lahore disinterred his vile carcase, and burnt it."

The author of the Ma-asiru-l Umara adds a few particulars respecting Mulla Ahmad, in his biography of Fulad Khan. He says that the accomplice of Mirza Fulad personated one of the royal messengers, and summoned the Mulla to the King's presence; that when the Mulla had left his house, he was attacked, and had one of his hands cut off by a sword; that the assassins, mistaking it for his head, ran off, satisfied that their work was accomplished; that he fell from his horse, and when he had recovered a little, picked up his own hand, and went to the house of Hakim Hasan for succour; that when Fulad

The Ma-asiru-l Umara says "by the nobles of the State." The determination to carry the sentence into effect shows the stern justice of the Emperor. The Birlas tribe had served him for eight genrations, and Mirza Fulad had himself been selected by Akbar to accompany an embassy to 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, in the twenty-second year of the reign. Mod. Univ. Hist., vol. iii., pp. 333, 340; Shajrat ul Atrak, p. 61; Matlaus sa'dain p. 250; Hist. Genealog. d. Tatars, p. 152.

Khan was seized, he confessed the crime before Abu-l Fazl, Khan-khanan, and Asaf Khan.

He says also that Mulla Ahmad went in his twenty-second year to Meshhed, and thence to Yezd and Shiraz, where, under the instructions of the physicians Kamalu-d din Husain and Mulla Mirza Jan, he entered on a course of medical study, and read the Kulyat-i Kanun of Avicenna, and the Sharh-i Tajrid, with all the commentaries. He then went to Kazwin, where he had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, and when Shah Ismail the Second was converted to the Sunni doctrine, he went to 'Irak-i 'Arab and Mecca, and after mixing with several celebrated scholars in those parts, proceeded to the Dakhin, to the Court of Kutb Shah of Golconda, and in the twenty-seventh year of Akbar's reign came to Fathpur Sikri, where he received orders to compile the Tarikh-i Alfi.

He used to read out his composition to Akbar, who asked him upon one occasion, why he had dwelt so long upon Khalifa 'Usman's reign. He replied openly, says the Ma-asiru-l Umara, before all the Turani nobles, who were Sunnis, that that period is the "Rauzatu-s Shuhada" of the Sunnis, and to abridge it would give offence.

The inconvenience respecting the introduction of a novel era in the Tarikh-i Alfi has already been noticed. Another very serious accusation has been laid against this work, of leaving out several important events during the period it embraces; and the omission of the decisive battle of Cadesiah in A.D. 636, which preceded the final

¹⁶The Rauzatu-s Shuhada, "The garden of martyrs," is the name usually given to works recounting the tragical fate of the sons of 'Ali. The author evidently considers the remark of the Mulla to be witty and severe. He also quotes the retort, of which Abdu-l Kadir boasts elsewhere.

subjugation of Persia, has been especially commented on as a proof of carelessness. But a much greater objection to be made to the Tarikh-i Alfi is the plan of the work: it is constructed in the form of Annals, like the tedious Historical Library of Diodorus; and thus we are compelled to turn over page after page of this voluminous history, before we can trace the connexion of events in any particular country which may happen to be the subject of our investigation. Nothing but an excellent Index could remedy such a defect. There is confusion also sometimes times about the dates. And protracted affairs are grouped under one year, the exact dates of their various phases not being sufficiently stated.

The compilers appear to have availed themselves of all the best sources of information open to them; for there is no historical work, Arabic or Persian, of any celebrity amongst modern European scholars which they do not quote; often applying a very judicious criticism in selecting the most trustworthy records, and rejecting the fabulous legends with which so many of them abound. The authorities quoted on Indian affairs are few, but more may be mentioned in the Preface, which was written by Abu-l Fazl, according to his own acknowledge-

ment.

The work is not often quoted, but it was greatly

used by Haidar Razi,

I have seen no notice of the existence of this work in European libraries.¹⁷ Parts of it are to be met with in India, but not one library, which I know of, contains a perfect copy. It is a work of great size. The portion I have seen was a folio of 1646 pages, with 40 lines to a page, and it was very incomplete. At Haidarabad there is a copy in two volumes, which though imperfect, contains, in the first volume, 1336 pages of 19 lines each,

^{17 (}There are several volumes of the work in the Library of the East India Office.)

and, in the second, 2066 pages of 31 lines each. One of the best manuscripts is in the possession of the Nawab of Murshidabad, which is thus described:

The second volume consists of 976 pages of 20 lines, and contains the events from the year 127 to 500, after

the death of Muhammad.

The third volume consists of 640 pages of 20 lines and contains the events from the year 501 to 672.

The fourth volume consists of 1092 pages of 21 lines,

and contains the events from the year 673 to 974.

Two more volumes therefore are required to make this work complete. I was anxious to make further inquiries about the Nawab's copy, but the librarian seemed indisposed to furnish any more information respecting it, and gave evasive answers; evincing thereby a suspicion, which, if anywhere, is certainly excusable in the neighbourhood of Calcutta where commercial profligacy has brought the European character into very low repute.18

18It will be observed elsewhere that the author, Mulla Ahmad, was inveigled out of his house by a man who personated one of the royal messengers. This official is called in the original by the Turkish word "Chaus," which was, and is except metaphorically, rarely used in India. "Chaus," or "Chawush," signifies a Lictor, a king's sergeant, an Officer of the Court. His proceedings upon this occasion confirm the bad reputation of a class, from which, only a few years afterwards, we were enabled to coin our expressive world "chouse." In A.D. 1609, a "Chaus," from the Grand Signior commitled a gross fraud upon the Turkish and Persian merchants resident in England, by cheating them out of £4000. (Gifford's "Ben Jonson" iv. 27). Hence, from the notoriety of the circumstance, came the expression to "chouse," just as in the present century, we have got to

(The Extracts which follow afford ample means of judging of the character of the work. The earliest of them, preceding the reign of Akbar, appeared with some

burke, and some other very significant terms.

The authors of the period caught gladly at the expression and familiarized it to after ages by making frequent use of it. Richardson gives the following instances:

Gul or Mogul,

Tag rag, or other hogen-mogen, varden, Ship-jacks, or chouses

Ford, "Lady's Trial," ii. 2.

Dap. What do you think of me, that I am a Chiaus?

Face. What's that?

Dap. The turk was here. As one would say, do you think I am a Turk?

Face. Come, noble doctor, pray thee, let's prevail; this is the gentleman, and he is no Chiaus.

Ben Jonson, "Alchemist," i. l.

He stole your cloak and pick'd your pocket, Cous'd and caldes'd ye like a blockhead.

Butler, "Hudibras," ii. 3.

It is obvious to remark, that if, in the age of our forefathers cheating to the extent of only £4000 was sufficient to consign a whole class to an immortality of infamy, how many more expressive words, dissyllables as well as monosyllables, might not the transactions of 1847-48 encourage us to add to our vocabulary, since even £40,000 is not sufficient to satiate the voracity of a Calcutta Chaus. See Churchill (chap. viii. p. 248) where Captain Robert Coverte (1609) says, "The governor put him in a house with a chouse or keeper." See also Marsden's "Marco Polo," p. 348. Mod. Univ. His. vol., x., p. 202; Gibbon, chap. lvii., note 49: Cantemir's Oth. Emp., p. 17; (Trench's "English Past and Present," p. 62)

others in Sir H. Elliot's original publication, and they record events which have been passed over without notice by the historians quoted in the earlier volumes of the present work. The passages relating to the reign of Akbar have been selected, and translated by the Editor as interesting in themselves, and as affording the means for comparing the Tarikh-i Affi with the Tabakat-i Akbari. The two works are generallly very much in accord, but their language and style are different. Still the resemblance of the two works is such as to induce a belief that one author had access to the work of the other or that both works were based upon the same original materials. The MSS, used by the Editor have been a small one prepared for Sir H. Elliot, containing only the passages relating to India; and a fine large one belonging to the Library of the East India Office written in a variety of hands. This commences with the year 485 H. and is not quite complete at the end. Unfortunately the rubrics of the dates have been filled in only in the earlier part of the volume.)

EXTRACTS

ANNO 68 AFTER THE DEATH OF MUHAMMAD (HIJRA 78 = 697 A.D.¹⁹)

When 'Abdu-lla, the son of Abubakr, arrived at Nimroz, Hajjaj sent a message, requesting him not to linger in Sijistan, but to march without delay towards Kabul, as signs of rebellion and disaffection had exhibited themselves in the chief, Raibal. He had formely entered into

19 (Muhammad died on the '12th Rabi'u-l awwal, in the eleventh year of the Hijra, A.D. 632, or according to some writers ten days earlier. The era of the Rihlat or death is, therefore, ten years two months, and a few days in arrear of the Hijra. So an equation of ten years will generally bring the two into agreement.)

a treaty with the Muhammadans, and agreed to pay a tribute annually into the treasury, and as long as he found the Muhammadans powerful, he paid the tribute, but whenever they were engaged in other affairs, or exhibited weakness, he withheld it. 'Abdu-lla, in obedience to the commands of Hajjaj, turned towards Kabul with the armies of Kufa and Basra, and as fast as the Muhammadans advanced, Raibal retreated towards, Hindustan. Dadah Sharaih, one of the officers of 'Abdu-lla, pursued Raibal seventeen pargans. At this time, the ruler of Kabul sent persons to some of the nobles and well-wishers of the State, desiring them to secure those roads, by which the Muhammadans had entered the country, in such a manner that they should neither obtain any supplies nor have the opportunity of retracing their steps. The consequence was, that after a few days such famine broke out in the Muhammadan camp, that every one despaired of life. Upon this, 'Abdu-lla said to Sharaih Hani, "It is advisable for us to treat with the infidels, and to offer them 70,000²⁰ dirhams to remove from our way, so that we may betake ourselves to a place of security." Sharaih replied, "Whatever amount you offer to the infidels, the diwan will place to your individual account." 'Abdu-lla rejoined, "Such a demand even would be preferable to the alternative of starvation in these dreadful places." Sharaih said, "My age exceeds a hundred years and I never expected to arrive at this period of existence. It has long been my prayer before the throne of God that I might suffer martyrdom, and the time for its accomplishment has now arrived." Saying this, he mounted his horse, and exclaimed, "O Musulmans, ye who have a desire to be martyrs, follow me!" Upon which, a few men came forward, and joined him, and with boldness rushing to the battle-field, they charged the infidels, and kept on fighting till they were slain.

²⁰In another passage this is 700,000 in the original.

'Abdu-lla after paying 70,000 dirhams to the enemy, returned with his followers. When they arrived at the Muhammadan frontier, food was served out to them and so famished were they, that those who satisfied their appetite died immediately. When this was known they appeared their hunger more moderately, and were thus by degrees restored to their former strength.²¹

ANNO 426 AFTER THE DEATH OF MUHAMMAD (436 H. = 1044 A.D.)

One of the events of this year was, that three of the principal Rajas of Hind, having formed a confederacy, with an intent to deliver Lahore from the Muhammadans who had risen up in rebellion against Maudud, son of Mas'ud, laid siege to the city. Upon seeing this, the commander of the Muhammadan forces in Lahore again made submission to Maudud, and collected together the entire Muhammadan force. When the Rajas learnt that the Muhammadans had again submitted to Maudud, son of Masud, two of them, in dread of him, withdrew to their country, but the third, whose name was Deopal Harnama, delayed his retreat a little, in order to try his strength with the Muhammadans. The latter, when satisfied of their superiority, made a sally, compelled the Raja to fly before them, and killed many infidels in the pursuit. The Raja retired within a stronghold, which the Muhammadans invested and pressed vigorously. The fort was a small one, and the troops which accompanied the Raja to that place amounted to 5,000 horsemen, and 70,000 foot soldiers. The infidels found themselves on the verge of destruction, and sent deputies to the Muhammadans begging for quarter; but the Muhammadans would not consent, unless the infidels surrendered every one of their fortresses. At length, when the infidels had no other

²¹See Niebuhr, vol. iii, p. 211; Price, vol. i., p. 263; Weil, vol. i., p. 449.

alternative than to yield, they accepted the conditions, and saved their lives. The property and treasure of all their forts fell into the hands of the Muhammadans, together with 5,000 Muhammandans who were imprisoned in them. These, having been sent free, joined the vic-

torious army. When the Muhammadan army had settled affairs with Raja Deopal Harnama, who was superior to all the kings of Hind in power and grandeur, they directed their attention to another Raja named Mab Balri, who, when he received the intelligence thereof, set his troops in order, and advanced with a determination to fight with the Muhammadans. Upon the meeting of the two armies, the fire of battle was kindled; and notwithstanding the inferiority of the Muhammadan forces, which did not amount to one-tenth of those opposed to them, by the help of Providence their victorious banners prevailed. The Raja was sent to perdition, and 5,000 of his army fell on the field of battle. The Muhammadans took considerable booty and many prisoners. When the chiefs of Hind were informed of these circumstances, they gave in their submission, and by assenting to pay tribute, kept themselves free from the destructive sword of Muhammadans.

ANNO 471 AFTER THE DEATH OF MUHAMMAD²² (481 H = 1088 A.D.)

When Ibrahim, son of Mas'ud, was satisfied that there was no apprehension of any opposition from the Saljukians, he despatched an army towards Hindusthan, and conquered several places that had not been captured by his predecessors, notwithstanding their power. One of the places which submitted to the conqueror was the fort

²²The conquests recorded in this extract are not mentioned either in the Tabakat-i Nasiri or the Habibu-s Siyar, but they are related by Firishta, who places them in the year 472 (1079) A.D.

of Jud,23 which surpassed all others in strength and extent. It was situated 120 parasangs distant from Lahore, and at the time when Ibrahim commenced operations against the fort there was a garrison in it of 10,000 men, who fought long and valiantly against the invader. Finding Ibrahim's efforts and resources to capture the fort very great, the garrison became dispirited; and although they had sufficient supplies and plenty of water, they nevertheless surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared. After capturing this fort, Ibrahim directed his attention towards another, called Damal,24 which was situated on the summit of a high hill on the borders of Hindustan; on one side of this fort there was a large river, reported to be impassable; and on the other, a large thorny jungle, into which nothing but the rays of the sun could penetrate. The Jungle was, moreover, infested with venomous serpents and flies, and abounded with elephants of enormous size. It was inhabited by a race of Hindus of gigantic form, and it was the most celebrated of all the places in Hindustan. At the foot of the hill there was no level ground suited for his operations. Ibrahim, nevertheless, with his usual courage, made an attempt to take the fort, and through the aid of God, soon captured it. He took possession of an immense quantity of property and jewels, the like of which had never been seen.

Ibrahim next marched towards Derapur, in Hindustan, a place which many great emperors had found it impracticable to conquer. Several trustworthy histories

23 Firishta says it was "Ajodhan."

²⁴Called by Firishta "Rupal" or "Rudpal." Probably the place subsequently called Nurpur, which has a fort built of stones and mud on an eminence about 200 feet high, at the base of which flows a small river, a feeder of the Ravi, which it joins about thirty miles lower down.—Thornton's "Gazetter," vol. ii. p. 83

state that this place was inhabited by the descendants of the people of Khurasan, who, for their disloyal and rebellious conduct, had been long before banished from the country by Afrasiab, Emperor of Turan. This place was densely populated and was of considerable strength. There was a large reservoir of water in it, the diameter of which was half a parasang; and though both men and beasts used to drink of the water throughout the year, yet no decrease was perceptible. During the time the people alluded to dwelt in this place, the rulers of Hindustan never dared to attack it, from a conviction of its impregnable strength. When Sultan Ibrahim heard the account of this country, he resolved to conquer it, and marched against it with a large army. The inhabitants heard of his approach, and made ready to oppose him. A fierce struggle ensued, but Ibrahim at length gained the victory, and slew many of them. Those who escaped fled to the jungles. Nearly 100,000 of their women and children were taken prisoners, and an incalculable amount of booty was secured.

ANNO 592 AFTER THE DEATH OF MUHAMMAD²⁵ (602 H. = 1205 A.D.)

It is mentioned in authentic histories that when Shahabu-d din was defeated by the Turks of Khita, on his return from Khwarizm, it was currently reported throughout the kingdom, that Shahabu-d din had been missed in the field of battle and there was no certainty whether he had perished or escaped. Consequently, enemies rose up on all sides, and every one encroached upon his territories. Among other enemies, one named Rai Sal, who lived in the mountains between Lahore and Kabul, having united with a number of Kokars, who dwelt in those parts and paid tribute to the treasury of Shahabu-d din excited a rebellion, began to plunder that tract, and intercepted

²⁵See Firishta, Briggs, Vol. i., p. 182.

the communications between Lahore and Ghazani, so

that no one could pass from one to the other.

Upon the return of Shahabu-d din to Ghazni in safety from his campaign, he was informed of these transactions, and consequently resolved to proceed to Hindustan, and punish the rebellious spirits of that country. For this purpose, he sent an order to Amir Muhammad, son of Abi 'Ali, whom he had appointed Governor of Lahore and Multan, desiring them to despatch the tribute of the year 601 H. as soon as possible, as it was necessary to make preparations for an expedition to Khita. Muhammad, son of 'Ali, wrote in answer, that the tribute of the year had been collected, and was ready, but that the Kokars and Rai Sal,26 who were in possession of the hills of Judi, had stopped the communication between Lahore and Ghazni in such a manner that nobody could travel on the road. When this account reached the ears of Shahabu-d din, he wrote to Kutbu-d din his slave, who was the Commander of the army of Hind, desiring him to send some person to the Kokars to dissuade them from persisting in such evil courses, and to inform them, that if they repented of their disobedience and came again under allegiance, he would pardon their past offences.

When Kutub-d din Aibak, according to the order of Shahabu-d din sent a person to the Kokars, desiring them to submit themselves, and to be obedient to the Sultan, the son of Kokar²⁷ replied, that Kutbu-d din had nothing to do with the matter, that Sultan Shahabu-d din should have sent a special messenger of his own, and further, that if we were really alive, he should have sent direct for the tribute when the Kokars would have despatched it to him. The ambassador replied, "You are not of sufficient consequence for Sultan Shahabu-d din to send any

²⁶(i.e. the chief of the Kokars) ²⁷Tod, Vol. ii, p. 25.

messenger to you; it is a great honour to you that he has sent even me, who am his slave's slave." The son of Kokar replied, "This a mere story, Shahabu-d din is no longer alive." The ambassador rejoined, "It many easily be ascertained by your sending any one of your confidential servants who can go to Ghazni, and see with his own eyes, whether Shahabu-d din be alive or not." In short, the son of Kokar being determined not to listen to the ambassador, remained firm in his rebellious disposition. When the ambassador of Kutbu-d din returned, and gave an account of what he had seen and heard, Kutbu-d din communicated the circumstances to Sultan Shahabu-d din, who ordered him to collect the several armies of Hindustan, to proceed against the Kokars, and to utterly exterminate the rebel tribe. When this mandate reached Kutbu-d din, he was engaged in preparing his forces, and was about to march against that nation. In the meantime, Shahabu-d din deferred his expendition to Khita, and caused his army to return. Complaints of violence and oppression of the Kokars were frequently coming in, accompanied with such accounts of their great and increasing power, that he considered it his duty to repulse these pople and punish them severly, before marching his forces to any other quarter. For this reason shahabu-d din gave up the idea of proceeding to Khita and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ghazni.

On the 5th Rabi'-ul awwal of the same year, Sultan Shahabu-d din set forth from Ghazni towards Hindustan. After some days he arrived at Pershawar, and learned that the Kokars had taken up a position between Jilam and Sodra, with a large army. Having marched from Pershawar on Thursday the 25th of the said month, he

²⁸Sodra above Wuzserabad. Jilam therefore is the town and not the river, and the scene could not have been far from our glorious field of Goojerat.—See Ind. Alterthumskunde, vol. i., p. 799.

attacked them unawares, and the battle lasted from morning till the time of afternoon prayer. The Kokars fought so valiantly, that the Sultan, with all his kingly power and glory, was very near being compelled to retreat; but Kutub-d din Aibak arrived unexceptedly with the army of Hindustan, and began to make havoc among the Kokars. His forces were fresh and vigorous, and the Kokars, being unable to withstand them, took to flight. The Muhammadans pursuing, dealt slaughter among them in a manner which defies all description. Those who escaped the sword fled to the forest. The Muhammadans set fire to their retreat on all sides, and the infidels, resolving to perish in the flames rather than surrender to the Muhammadans, threw themselves into the fire. In this manner all who had taken refuges in the woods perished. When the mind of the Sultan was relieved from the anxiety of this outbreak, he marched towards Lahore, and gave leave to his soldiers to return to their homes, ordering them to march to Khita after a few days' repose.29

²⁹This tribe is variously denominated by Muhammadan authors, Kukar, Kokar, Gakkar, Ghikar, Ghakar. The last appears to be the most correct. Shortly after this expedition they were converted to Islam, their chieftain having obtained his release from captivity by becoming a proselyte, and promising to use his endeavours to convert his tribe. They often appear subsequently upon the stage of Indian history, and rarely but as turbulent and rapacious marauders. Their descendants have somewhat receded from their old haunts, and now occupy the country to the south and east of the upper course of the Behat. They call themselves descendants of the Kaianians, but polyandry and some other of their customs would seem to indicate a Tartar origin. Elphinstone in his "Cabul," page 78, says that on the spot they call themselves Gukkhur; Khokars are quite different. But

ANNO 698 AFTER THE DEATH OF MUHAMMAD³⁰ (708 H. = 1308 A.D.)

In this year, Sultan 'Alu-d din, King of Hindustan, proceeded to Siwana³¹ on a hunting expedition, when the chief of that place took to his fort and offered opposition. The fort was soon captured, and this was the first occasion that it had been taken. Samal Deo,32 the chief (Mukaddam) perished, with several thousands of Hindus. In the same year, the fort of Kalwar came into the possession of 'Alau-d din's officers. The detail of the case is this: Kathar Deo, governor of the fort of Kalwar,33 had upon one occasion gone to the Sultan to pay his respects, when the Sultan boasted that there was no zamindar at that time in Hindustan who had power to withstand his troops. Upon this Kathar Deo, with exceeding folly, replied, that he would die rather than submit tacitly to such an assumption. The Sultan being enraged at this, dismissed him, and he returned to his own country. The Sultan then sent a female slave, named Gul Bihist, against him. Gul Bihist had a son called Malik Shahin, who accompanied her on the expedition, and they besieged Kathar Deo. Just as the garrison were beginning to despair, Gul Bihist happened to die, and Kathar Deo, sallying from the fort, attacked

it is evident that in this passage, as in others, the Kokars are meant for the Ghakars. In one of Khusru's poems they are called Khokars, where nothing but Ghakars can be meant. Khusru's "Khazain."

³⁰ Ziau-d din Barni does not record the matters described in this Extract, but see Firishta, Briggs, vol. i., p. 370.

Tod (vol. ii. p. 298) places this Siwana in Mewar, not in Hurriana. It is described in the London Geograph. Journal, vol. iv., p. 129.

32Sital—Deo," Firishta.

33"Nahar Deo, Raja of Jalwar," Frishta.

Malik Shahin and killed him. Upon the dealth of both the son and mother, the command of the army devloved on Kamalu-d din, who took the fort, and put Kathar Deo to death.

GWALIOR

The campaign against Gwalior was one of the events of this year (the third of the reign). The fort of Gwalior is one of the most renowned in Hindustan, and Salim Khan Afghan (Islam Shah) made it his residence. Up to the present time it remained in the hands of the Afghans, and 'Adali had placed Suhail,34 one of Salim's slaves, in command of it. At this time, when His Majesty took up his residence at Agra, he gave the parganas in the neighbourhood of Gwalior as a jagir to Kiya Khan. After a while, the Khan collected an army and invested Gwalior, but the place was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. Suhail was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his Imperial neighbour. So he sent a messenger to Ram Sah, who belonged to the family of Raja Man Singh, the old ruler of Gwalior, offering to surrender to him the fort, the ancient seat of his ancestors, on receipt of a suitable payment. Suhail at the same time acknowledged that he was unable to cope with the Imperial forces. Ram Shah, who had been watching for such a chance, took with him the money that he had, and sent to Gwalior. Kiya Khan the jagirdar, attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. Ram Shah was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the Rana of (Udipur).35

35 Surrender of the fort to Akbar.—See Tabakat-i

The MS. calls him "Babhal", but the other authorities have the more likely named "Suhail."

MALWA

(In this year the Emperor sent Bahadur Khan, brother of Khan-zaman, to effect the conquest of Malwa, which was in the possession of Baz Bahadur Afghan. Sultan Bahadur Gujarati had wrested this country out of the hands of the Khilji monarchs, and the Emperor Humayun took this country from Gujarat. When by the will of fate, Hindustan passed into the hands of Afghans, Malwa also came into their possession, for the Gujaratis were unable to hold it. Shujawal Khan,36 one of the Khassa-khail of Sher Khan (Sher Shah), was appointed governor of the province. After the death of Sher Khan, Shujawal Khan went to visit Salim Khan (Islam Shah) and dissensions having arisen between them, he fled to Malwa. Salim Khan marched to Malwa against him, and Shujawal Khan, being unable to resist, fled to the mountains of Dhungarpur. Finally, after vows and compacts were made, he joined Salim Khan, who took him to Hindusthan, and divided Malwa among other amirs. In the reign of 'Adali, Shujawal Khan recovered Malwa, and there died. He was succeeded by his son Baz Bahadur, and when the Afghans were scattered over Hindustan by the conquering Chaghatais, Baz Bahadur established himself as permanent ruler of Malwa. When Bahadur Khan marched against him, the affairs of Bairam Khan-khanan came to a crisis, and the campaign in Malwa was stayed.)

CONQUEST OF GARHA (YEAR 985 RIHLAT; 968 H = 1560 A.D.37)

(Khawaj 'Abdu-l Majid, who had received the title of Asaf Khan, was appointed governor of Karra, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his ser-

³⁶More correctly "Shuja'at Khan."

³⁷The Tabakat and the Akbar-nama place this event three years later.

vices was the conquest of Garha, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hind since the rise of the faith of Islam. At this time it was governed by a woman called Rani, and all the dogs of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Asaf Khan had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and the position and treasures of the Rani, he levied an army to conquer the country. The Rani came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horse. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the Rani, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant driver, and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Asaf Khan gained the victory, and stopped his advance at the taluk of Chauragarh, where the treasures of the rulers of Garha were kept. The son of the Rani shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. much plunder in jewels, gold, silver and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute the tenth part of it. Out of all plunder, Asaf Khan sent fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself).

CAPTURE OF CHITOR (YEAR 965 RIHLAT; 975 HIJRA = 1567 A.D.)

When the Emperor marched from Gagrun against the Rana, he had only 3,000 or 4,000 horsemen with him, for he hoped that the smallness of the force might induce the infidel to try the event of a battle. But the Rana knew his own strength, and while the Emperor was at 100 kos distance from his country, he fled with his family to the distant hills. He felt at ease about Chitor, because the Emperor's force had but little siege apparatus and it did not seem likely that he would attempt to reduce

the place. But the fort was set in order, great quantities of provisions were stored, and the garrison consisted of 8,000 veterans, including the Rana's own men, with their wives and families. When the Emperor entered the Rana's territory, and was informed of his flight, he wished to pursue him; but he ascertained that the Rana had gone to a place far in the hills and jungles which it was impossible to reach. So the Emperor determined to attack Chitor, which is an exceedingly strong fortress. When he came near the fort, the rains were so heavy, that for a time the fort was invisible; but as the weather cleared, he got a view of the place. The fortress is situated in the midst of a level plain, which has no other eminences. The circuit of this mountain at its base is six kos, and the ground upon which the walls of the fort stand is nearly three kos. Upon the top of the hills there is a fountain, but not content with that the constructors of the fort formed large reservoirs of stone and mortar, which get filled in the rainy season. So with these supplies the garrison are never short of water. The eastern side of the fort, and towards the north, is faced with hard stone, and the garrison felt quite secure as to that portion. On the other sides if guns (top), swivels (zarb-zan), catapults, (sang-r'ad) and manjaniks are able to reach the fortress, they cannot do so much harm. Travellers do not speak of any fortress like this in the whole habitable world. At this time, all the space of · three kos at the top of the mountain was full, and the house of the people rose several storeys over each other. Great numbers of men guarded the battlements at the top of the walls, and great quantities of ammunition were stored in the fortress. His Majesty carefully reconnoitred the place on every side, and saw that it would not fall without a long siege. When the garrison preceived the small number of men with the Emperor, and thought of their fortress being six kos in circumference, they uttered cries of derision. The batteries were apportioned

out among the amirs, and bakhshis were appointed and sent to those amirs who had not yet come up. Every day some one arrived and went to his battery, so that in a short time the whole fort was invested.

Asaf Khan went under orders to take Rampur. He took the place, and having plundered and ravaged the country, he returned victorious. Husain Kuli Khan went to attack Udipur, the capital of the Rana and of his ancestors. He ravaged the country with fire and sword, and returned bringing great spoil and numerous prisoners from the fastnesses of the mountains.

From day to day the brave assailants carried their attacks closer to the fort on every side, and a great number of them suffered martyrdom, for the fort was very strong, and made a most excellent defence. Orders were given for digging ditches and for constructing sabats,38 and nearly 5,000 builders, carpenters, stone-masons, smiths, and sappers were collected from all parts. Sabats are contrivances peculiar to Hindustan; for the strong forts of that country are replete with guns, muskets, and warlike apparatus, and can only be taken by means of sabats. A sabat is a broad (covered) way, under the shelter of which the assailants approach a fortress secure from the fire of guns and muskets. Two sabats were accordingly begun. The one which was opposite the royal quarters was so broad that two elephants and two horses could easily pass along it, and so high that an elephant-rider could carry his spear. The were commenced from the middle of the hill, which is a fortress upon a fortress.39 The people of the fort had never seen a sabat, and were puzzled, but they endeav-

39 Wa az kamar kuhi ki qila bar qila ast shuru dar

sabat sakhtan namuda shud.

³⁸ See the Extracts from the Tabakat-i Akbari, also Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii., p. 330.

oured to stop the work. Seven or eight thousand horsemen and numerous gunners exerted themselves to the utmost in attacking them. And although the sabats had thick roofs of cow and buffalo hides to protect the workmen, no day passed without a bundred men more or less being killed. The bodies of the slain were used instead of stones and bricks. His Majesty's kindness and justice would not allow any man to be pressed for the work, but heaps of rupees and dams were scattered as hire, and each man went to work for what he could get.

In a short time one sabat reached the walls, and was so high that it overlooked them. On the top of it a seat was constructed for the Emperor, from which he could see at his ease the efforts of nis warriors, and from which he could also take a part in the fight if so minded. While the men of the garrison were endeavouring to interrupt the progress of the sabats, the sappers formed several mines under the walls, and wherever stones were met with, the stonemasons opened a way through with their iron tools. Two bastions in front of the royal battery were completely undermined, and according to order, both mines were filled with gunpowder. Three or four hundred brave men of the Imperial army were posted ready armed near these bastions, to rush in as soon as the explosion took place, before the defenders could rally to resist them. Both mines were fired, and one which took effect blew the bastion from its foundations into the air, and every stone fell at a distance. A great breach was visible and the storming party instantly rushed forward shouting their war-cry. A strong party of the garrison came forward to oppose them, and while the contest was at the hottest, and a great number of the faithful and of the infidels were struggling upon the other bastion, the mine exploded, and blew friend and foe together into the air, scattering their limbs in all diTARIKH-I ALFI DO 00 05 147

rections. The quantity of gun-powder used was so enormous that stone, of fifty and a hundred mans were hurled to the distance of two and three kos. Many corpses also were found within a radius of two kos. Saiyid Jamalu-d din and . . . other braves of the Imperial army perished. Vast numbers of the garrison were killed,

The vast quantities of dust and smoke prevented all movement in the Imperial army for a time; stones, corpses, and limbs fell from the air, and the eyes of the soldiers were injured. The enemy, concealing their loss, showed a brave front. When the Emperor perceived the state of affairs, he exerted himself more strenuously to take the place. He ordered the sabat in front of Shuja'at Khan's battery to be pushed forward. The garrison was sore distressed, and ready to succumb, but no one had the courage to propose surrender to the Emperor. For he had determined that he would capture by storm this the strongest fortress of Hindustan, so that in future no other fortress should dare to resist the Imperial army. He took his position on the top of the sabat, and his brave soldiers kept up such a discharge from their bows and muskets that no one could escape from the place. His Majesty also had his own musket, deadly as the darts of fate, with which he killed every moving thing that caught his eye. On the 5th Sha'ban, 955, the assault was made by the Emperor's command. The walls had been breached in several places, and the signs of victory were in favour of the assailants. Jaimal, the commandant of the fortress, an infidel yet valiant, all day long struggled bravely in every part, inciting his men to fight and resist.

At the time of evening prayer he came in fornt of the royal battery, where His Majesty, holding his musket, discharged it as often as light blazed out in the bastion. It so often happened that Jaimal was standing in that

⁴⁰ Badauni tells us that the matches were not pro-

tower when His Majesty discharged his piece into a lighted place. The ball struck Jaimal in the forehead and killed him on the spot. When the men of the garrison saw their leader fall, they felt that all further resistance was useless; they gave up fighting, and after first burning the body of Jaimal, they performed the jauhar at their own homes. Jauhar is the name of a rite among the Hindus. When they know for certain that there is no escape, they collect their wives and children, goods and chattels, heap fire-wood round the pile, and fire it with their own hands. After the burning is accomplished, they rush into the fight and give themselves over to death. This they esteem a great act of devotion. The great flames of the jauhar and the lull of the conflict on the bastions and walls showed the assailants that the garrison was reduced to extremity, so they began to make their way into the place in parties. Some of the boldest of the infidels, who had no wives and families, stood to their posts resolved to sell their lives. The Emperor witnessed the prowess of his warriors from the top of the sabat. Under his orders three elephants were taken through the breach into the city, and one of them, named Madkar, on that day killed many infidels, and although he received many wounds, never turned tail. The second elephant, named Jagna, was surrounded by infidels, and died of the numerous wounds he received from spears and swords. In the last watch of the night the assailants forced their way into the fortress in several places, and fell to slaughtering and plundering. At early dawn the Emperor went in mounted on an elephant, attended by his nobles and chiefs on foot. The order was given for a general massacre of the infidels as a punishment. The number of fighting men in the fortess exceeded 8,000.41 Some of them repaired to the idol

⁴¹ Abul-Fazl states that there were 40,000 peasants on service in the place in addition to the 8,000 Rajputs forming the garrison.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 407.

temple and they fought to the last. In every street and lane and bazar there was desperate fighting. Every now and then a band of infidels, having thrown away all hope of life, would rush from the temple with swords and shields towards their own homes, and so were they more easily despatched by the warriors they encountered. By mid-day nearly 2,000 had been slain. Under the favour of heaven, Zarb 'Ali Tawachi was the only person of note in the Imperial army who was killed, which was a very marvellous fact. Those of the fortress who escaped the sword, men and women, were made prisoners, and their property came into the hands of the Masulmans. The place being cleared of infidels, His Majesty remained there three days, and then departed. leaving the Government of the country in the hands of Asaf Khan.)

CONQUEST OF RANTAMBHOR (966 RIHLAT; 976 HIJRA = 1568 A.D.)

The Emperor then marched against Rantambhor, and encamped before the fortress at the end of the month of Sha'ban. The place was held by Rai Surjan, who had bought it of Hijjaz Khan, a servant of Salim Khan (Islam Shah). On several occasions before, rulers of Hindustan had besieged this fort for five or six years and Surjan Rai, a confident in its strength, stored it with necessaries and closed its gates, but he had the fact of the fall of Chitor before his eyes. The Emperor reconnoitred the fort, gave directions for the placing of batteries, closed the ways of ingress and egress, and commenced the construction of sabats. Near to the fort is a hill called Ran, 42 which commands it; but in consequence of the height of the hill and the difficulty of the

⁴² Firishta calls this hill "Madan", which is probably an error, as Abu-l Fazl, Badauni, and Faizi all agree with the author of the Tarikh-i Alfi in calling it "Ran."

ascent, no one had as yet been able to get guns up on it. His Majesty now directed that some guns (top) and swivels (zarb-zan) should be placed on the hills, such pieces as 200 pairs of bullock; would have drawn with difficulty on heavy ground. In a few days from ten to fifteen guns, capable of discharging stones of fifty, forty, and twenty mans,43 were dragged up the hills by the labour of porters. The first shot discharged struck the house of Surjan Rai, and made him very apprehensive. Every shot destroyed several houses, and the garrison was so frightened that all spirit of resistance disappeared. Surjan Rai being helpless, sent his sons Dudh and Bhoj out to obtain terms. His Majesty, pitying their condition, promised that Surjan Rai should be forgiven if he came and waited on the Emperor. Joyfully the two young men returned to their father, with the promise of safety. Surjan Rai begged that one of the Emperor's amirs should be sent to conduct him to the presence, and Husain Kuli Khan, governor of the Panjab, was sent into the fort on this duty. On the 3rd Shawwal, Surjan Rai came out and waited upon the Emperor. He offered a large tribute, and gave up the keys of the fortress, which were made of gold and silver. He asked for three days' grace for his followers and people to remove their families and property out of the place, which was granted, and at the end of this time the fort with its munitions was surrendered to the royal officers. Thus this strong place was taken in one month and was placed under the command of Mihtar Khan.)

^{43 (}Badauni is more moderate and says "five or seven mans". He tells us that 700 or 800 labourers were employed in dragging the guns. Text, vol. ii., p. 107.)

APPENDIX

(The following Notes are reprinted from the old volume of 1849, with such additions and notes as were added to them by Sir H. Elliot in his private copy.)

NOTE A

ON THE CAPTURE OF NASIBIN BY MEANS OF SCORPIONS The Nasibin,1 mentioned in the text (Tarikh-i Alfi, paragraph 6) is the Nisibis of classical authors, the position of which, on the frontier of the Persian and Roman Empires, made its occupation of so much importance in the estimation of the contending parties, from the time that Lucullus plundered it, till its capture by the Arabs, when it continued as frequent a source of contention between them and the Greeks as between them and the Persians at a later period. It was surrounded by a treble inclosure of brick walls defended by a deep ditch. and was considered so impregnable that Asiatics, as will be presently seen, are fond of resorting to supernatural means to account for its capture. Sapor made three separate attacks upon the town A.D. 338, 346, 350, and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and a hundred days, was repulsed each time with loss and ignominy;2 but it was at last ceded to him by Jovian³ in 363, and it remained henceforth the Persians (if we except two short intervals), as it had remained for the two previous centuries with the

¹Mannert says the town is called Nisibin, or Nissabin, but neither mode of orthography is consistent with Abu-l Fida. Vide "Geogr. d. Aboulf." texte Arabe, p. 283.

²Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. iii. p. 139.

³In speaking of this humiliating treaty, Eutropius

Romans, a strong bulwark against hostile encroachments.

On the third occasion of Sapor's attack, unusual means were resetord to, to obtain possession of the place. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the course of the river Mygdonius was, by the labour of the Persians, stopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of armed vessels, filled with soldiers and heavy engines of war, was launched, and the accumulated pressure of the waters made a portion of the walls give way. Nevertheless the monarch failed of success, and Nisibis retained its character as an inexpugnable strenghold.⁴

Under one of his predecessors, Saper I., the Shahpur of the Persians, Mirkhond informs us that a miracle placed the town in the hands of the Persian Monarch.

gives us a good notion of the political honesty of the Romans, by censuring Jovian for not immediately breaking the treaty, and renewing the war, as the Romans had done on all former occasions, immediately he had escaped from the dangerous position which had compelled him to conclude it.—"Hister. Rom. Breviar.," x. 17. The capitulation of Closter-Seven, during the Seven Years' War, for a suspension of arms in the north of Germany, and the convention of El-Arish in 1800, for the evacuation of Egypt by the French armies, have called forth the opinion of modern jurists on the general question. See Vattel, pp. 219, 231, 236; Wheaton's "Elements of International Law," vol. ii. pp. 120-122; Flassan's "Histoire de la Diplomatie Française," tom. vi. pp. 97-107; and MM. de Koch and Schoell's "His toire abrege des Traites de Paix," tom. iii. pp. 48,, 50; v. 304, 311.

Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. iii. p. 141.

Wearied with the siege, Shahpur commanded his army to unite in supplication to the Supreme Being for its conquest, and while they were imploring the aid of heaven, the wall fell down before them, and their faith and devotion received a signal reward.⁵

Nisibis is now but a small and insignificant place, with scarcely more than one hundred houses, but it is surrounded with ruins which attest its former magnific-

ence.6

The facts above related, with reference to the many obstinate defence of Nasibin, show how natural it was that a credulous Oriental writer should resort to the marvellous to account for such unusual success as attended the arms of the Arabs in the seventeenth year of the Hijri.

The passage against which the captious opponent of 'Abdu-l Kadir took exception runs thus in the Tarikh-i Alfi, in the Annals of the seventh year after the death of Muhammad. Every few of the Arabic historians notice the circumstance reocrded in it, nor do Ockley, Gibbon, or Marigny mention it.⁷

"The army of Islam sat eight months before the fort of Nasibin. Now, in and around that city, there were exceedingly large black scorpions, and no man who was bitten by them escaped with his life. The

⁵Malcolm, "History of Persia," vol. i. p. 77. After being taken by the Arabs, it fell to the arms of the Seljuks, Turkomans, Tartars, and Mughals.—Rampoldi, vol. iii. p. 369; vol. vi. p. 517.

"Jahan-numa," p. 438. Niebuhr, "Voyages," vol. ii. pp. 300-309. Compare also Mannert, "Geographie d. Greich. und Rom.," vol. v. ii. pp. 216-219. Ritter, "Erdkunds von Asien," vol. vii. i. pp. 128-136. "L'Univers. Pitt. Asie," ix. "Babylonie," 332. "Ency. Met." "Mesopotamia."

See Price, "Retrospect," vol. i. p. 93.

Arab General consequently gave orders that a thousand small jars should be filled with these reptiles, inclosed in loose mould around them, and that they should be thrown at night into the city by the engines. As the jars broke when they fell on the ground, the scorpions crawled out, and killed every one whom they stung. In the morning the garrison were so dispirited, and found themselves reduced to such extremities, that they could no longer hold the fort. The Musulmans, taking advantage of their consternation, made a sudden assault, broke open the gates, and slew several who had escaped the venom of the scorpions. It is said that in the time of Noshirwan, the fort of Nasibin was captured in precisely the same way."

If we concur with the objector, and hesitate to receive this narrative as true, we may perhaps be able to explain it in some other more rational manner. In the first place, it may occur to us as not altogether improbable, that this story owes its origin to the use of the propelling machine called the "Scorpion," which we learn from Vegetius⁸ was so called, because it threw small javelins with fine points which occasioned death.

Others say because the darts were poisoned.9

8"De re militari," iv. 32.

Beschenburg, "Manual," p. 544. See Smith's "Dict." v. Tormentum. Sam. Pitiscus, "Lexicon Antiquitatum Romanorum," in which the classical references are full, and Basil Faber, "Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ," v. Scorpio. In Grose's "Antiquities," vol. i. p. 16, there is a diagram. Meyrick's "Antient Armour," vol. ii. p. 157, shows that a kind of cannon was also called a scorpion, called by the English a handcannon. The annals of Placentia for 1444 have "scorpione seu balistra." The quotations given do not bear out the fact of the scorpion being used solely for gunpowder. It may have been the old scorpio. In the

Later writers may have copied the statement, and put an interpretation upon it suited to their own comprehensions. It is to be observed that the Scorpion was used, even in Europe, as late as 1428 A.D.¹⁰

There seems to be another way of accounting for this improbable story, if we reject the literal meaning of the words, by supposing that a combustible composition, formed of some bituminous substances, was used upon the occasion. We know from several excellent authorities, that for many years before the invention of gunpowder, such substances were used in warfare, and, what is still more remarkable, that the cases in which they were enveloped were known by the name of Scorpions. Casiri11 gives us the following extract from an Egyptian Geographer, called Shahabu-d din,12 who flourished about A.D. 1250. "Bodies, in the form of Scorpions, bound round, and filled with nitrous powder, glide along, making a gentle noise, then they explode, and throw out flames.13 But there are others which, cast into the air, stretch along like a cloud, roaring horribly as thunder roars, and on all sides vomiting out flames, they burst, and burn, and reduce to cinders whatever comes it their way." It is also a very curious coincidence, that the ancient Indian weapon, or rocket, Glossary he contradicts himself by saying scorpion is a "poisoned arrow"; but under scorpionarius, it is shown that it was a hand-weapon, as it is used by one man only.

10 Muratori, Script. Ital., tom. xxi. 215.

11 Biblioth. Arab. Hisp. vol. ii. p. 7.

¹²Berington gives his name as Ebn Fadhl, but that only shows his parentage.—"Literary History of the Middle Ages," p. 438.

13 The early Crusaders used to describe the Greek

fire as hissing through the air like serpents.

p. 67.

called sataghni, with the etymological meaning of the

hundred-slayer, should also signify a Scorpion.15

As there will be occasion again to allude to the early use of gunpowder in the East, there is no need to dwell upon this passage from the Egyptian author with any reference to that subject. It is merely adduced here, to show the undoubted use at an early period of a combustible called a Scorpion.

Now, it is remarkable that Dion Cassius, in speaking of the expedition of Alexander Severus against Atra, which was close to Nisibis, says that, in the last extremity, the Atreni defended themselves by throwing naphtha¹⁶ both upon the besiegers and upon their engines, by which they were burnt and destroyed. According to Price, naphtha was discharged in pots at Khwarizm.¹⁷

Three hundred years before this, the same author tells us, that when Lucullus was besieging Tigranocerta, not fifty miles¹⁸ from Nisibis, "the barbarians" defended themselves by throwing naphtha balls against the engines. "This substance is bituminous, and so inflammable that it burns to ashes everything on which it impinges, nor is it easily extinguished by anything wet." 19

15 See Wilson's "Sanscrit Dictionary," s. v. and Hal-

hed's "Code of Gentoo Laws," p. lii.

16To naphtha to asphaltades ("Dionis Hist. Rom." lxxv. 11), "of which," he adds, "I have already written" —alluding probably to the passage mentioned in the next paragraph of the text.

17 Price, "Retrospect," vol. ii. p. 516.

18 Tacitus says thirty-seven miles.—Annal. xv. 4.

PDionis, Fragmenta 178, ex Xiphilino. The same author, in his life of Galigula, tells us of that Emperor's having a machine, which projected a stone, accompanied with thunderings and lightnings.

Nor can we wonder that these noxious implements "fed with naphtha and asphaltus" should have been so frequently and so early used in Mesopotamia; for from the Persian Gulf to the Euxine, from the Dead Sea, where asphaltum floats on the water, to Baku on the Caspian, where naphtha streams spontaneously through the surface of the soil, and where a boiling lake emits constant flames, the whole country is impregnated with bituminous matter, which is especially abundant on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates²¹—so that if the Scorpions alluded to by 'Abdu-l Kadir were combustible, there would be no great improbability in the narrative.

But if we reject these solutions as too elaborate and

20"Near unto Bachu is a very strange and wonderful fountain underground out of which there springeth and issueth a marvellous quantity of black oyl."—John Cartwright's "Preacher's Travels" in Churchill, vol. vii. p. 731. See also Geffrey Duchet in "Hakluyt," vol. i. p. 450. "This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefte." Properly Bagh cuh, the mountain garden, according to P. de Valle, Letter iv. in Pinkerton, vol. ix. p. 46. Naphtha was sent as a present from Baghdad, anno 586.—"Mod. Univer. Hist." vol. iii. p. 205; Weil, vol. iii. p. 413.

See also respecting the immortal fire in Lycia, "Plin. Nat. Hist.," ii. 106. Salmasius, "Exercitdat." "Plinian," pp. 244, 245; Beckmann's notes to the treatise "De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus," attributed to Aristotle (quoted sometimes as Pseudo-Arist.), p. 283; Marsden's "Marco Polo," p. 52; Fraser's "Mesop. and Assyria," p. 347; "Jahan-numa," vol. i. p. 565, ii. p. 16; J. A. St. John's "Anc. Greece," vol. iii. pp. 403-5; Hakluyt's "Voyages, Navigations," etc., vol. ii. p. 582; Smith's "Dict. Geog.," p. 363; Drummond's "Origines," vol. i. p. 156.

remote, we must fall back upon the literal interpretation, and, improbable as it is, there are many reasons to encourage us to maintain that it is strictly true.

In the first place, the application of living scorpions to such an improbable purpose would not be altogether a novel stratagem. The *Tarikh-i Yamini* tells us, that Khalaf defended himself in the fort of Ark²² by throwing from his catapults wallets of snakes upon the besieg

ing army.

M. de Sacy,²³ in abstracting the passage from the translation of Jarbadkhani, says, "ils lancoient sur les troupes de Hossain des cruches remplies de scorpions et de reptiles venimeux." For this I can find no authority in the original; but Rashidu-d din also says in his Jami'u-t Tawarikh, that scorpions, as well as snakes, were used upon the occasion. At folio 8 of his "History of Sultan Mahmud" we read: "When Khalaf had borne down the 'riders of crocodiles' (nihang-sawar) and the footmen, he continued to harass the besiegers with crafty arts and stratagems. Wherever they established themselves, he, with slings and catapults, cast upon them pots full of snakes and scorpions, and their places of security he converted into places of ambush."²⁴

Abu-l Fida, Mirkhond, and the Tabakat-i Nasiri

have nothing on the subject.

Cornelius Nepos and Justin inform us, that by means precisely similar Hannibal dispersed the superior fleet of Eumenes:

"Impervit (Hannibal) quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi, easque in vasa fictilia conjici. Harum cum confecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale prælium, classiarios convocat, hisque præcipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis

²²(The ark is the citadel or chief fort).

²³"Notices et Extraits," tom. iv. p. 338.

²⁴"az maman i eshan makman mi-sakht."

concurrant navem, a cæteris tantum satis habeant se defendere; id facile illos serpentium multitudine consecutors."²⁵

Then again we find the Atreni, noticed above, making use of this very mode of defence against the troops of the Roman Emperor. Herodian says²⁶ (and Gibbon²⁷ has declared his account of this reign to be rational and moderate, and consistent with the general history of the age), "They cast upon them large birds and poisonous animals²⁸ which fluttered before their

²⁵Cornelius Nepos, "Hannibal," 10. See also Justin, "Hist. Philipp.," xxxii. 4. Serpentines came afterwards to be the name of a kind of cannon. "In a letter from the Master of the Knights Hospitallers at Jerusalem to the Pope on the siege of Rhodes by the Turks in 1480, we find colubrinis et serpentinis deturbant fatigantque. Colubrina, a culverine, is derived from coluber, like as the serpentine from serpentinus. This latter was made of copper, as in a deed, dated 1461, mention is made of a serpentine de cuivre."-Meyrick, vol. ii. p. 207. These names must have been derived from the form of the mouth, "ib." 288, as with the basilisk, the flying dragon. See quotations from Rymer, in "Artillery," "Penny Cyclep;" Ellis's "Metrical Romances" (Bohn). pp., 229, 307, 328, 310. There is an important passage about ducentos serpentes in "His. de l' Artill.," p. 65; Bohn's "Chron. of the Crusades," pp. 196-7. See also extract copied at p. 2 of Gloss. MS. Meyrick, "Antient Armour," vol. i. p. 71, translates this, 200 combustible serpents, etc. Bahadin, p. 165.

²⁶This passage and the one given from Dion Cassius refer to the same expedition. We need not stay to inquire whether the difference of the accounts arises

from omission or contradiction.

²⁷See "Decline and Fall," vol. i. p. 267.

²⁸ The "iobolun phurian" refers most probably to

eyes, and penetrated every part of their bodies that was exposed," . . . "so that more perished by these means than by direct attacks of the enemy."29

Frontinus also speaks of this mode of warfare in his book of stratagems;³⁰ and we read of something like it being practised by the Soanes, a people of Colchis, near Caucasus, who endeavoured to suffocate, with poisonous exhalations, those enemies, with whom they could not contend in close combat;³¹ this was done at Nice in the first Crusade, and again at Antioch.³² At the sieges of Jotopata and Jerusalem, dead bodies of men and horses were thrown by the war-machines on the besieged.³³

scorpions, and though it must be confessed the use of "iobolun" is ambiguous, yet, when coupled with "phurian," the poisonous nature of the missile is evident.

evident.

29 Herodiani, "Hiutor. Roman," lib. ii. c. 9. A curious use of mangonels in throwing gold is recorded by Wassaf on 'Alau-d din, and alluded to by Mir Khusru in "Khaziunu-l Fiutuh." The incdels hurled on the Crusaders at Maarah "lapides, ignem, et plena apibus alvearia calcem quoque vivam, quanta poterant jaculabantur instantia, ut eas a muro propellerent."—"Will. Tyr.," lvii. c. 9; "Mod. Univ. Hist.," vol. iii. p. 247; Southey's "Common-place Book," 4th series, p 26; Mackay's "Pop. Delusions," vol. ii. p. 27; "Anc. Univ. Hist.," vol. iv. p. 4. For throwing of carcase, see Froissart, vol. i. c. 50. c. 107. There are also instances of men and horses in Froissart. Camden says dead horses were thrown by the Turks at Negroponte.—Grose, "Antiquities," vol. i. p. 17.

30Sex. Jul. Frontini, "Stratagematic," lib. iv. c. 7;

"Ency. Met. Hist." Rom. Rep., p. 422.

31Strabo, "Geograph." lib. xi. c. 2; D'Herbelot, v. Acrab.

³²Michaud, vol. i. pp. 102-3, and pp. 131, 140.

³³ Josephus, "Bell. Jud." lib. iii. c. 7-9.

Moreover, we know from unquestionable testimony, that scorpions abound so much in the neighbourhood of Nasibin as to be the object of special remark by Oriental Geographers.

Istakhri, or the author translated by Ouseley, speaking of Kurdan, close to Nasibin, says, "It produces deadly scorpions; and the hill on which it stands abounds in serpents, whose stings occasion death." Abu-l Fida, quoting Azizi, says, "At Nasibin there is an abundance of white roses, but a red rose is not to be seen. There are also deadly scorpions." Edrisi also notices, in his geographical work, the deadly scorpions of Nasibin. 36

Taking, therefore, into consideration these concurrent testimonies to the fact of venomous reptiles being sometimes used in warfare, and to their abundance in the vicinity of Nasibin, we may pronounce in favour of 'Abdu-l Kadir and his Arab authorities, and declare him justified in exclaiming, "that he had not been guilty of any fabrication, that he had seen the anecdote in books, and had written accordingly; and that, as the accuracy of his statement has been fully verified, he is, by God's grace, relieved from the charge of invention."

³⁴Ouseley's "Oriental Geography," p. 56. (Mordt-mann's rendering is, "There are many deadly scorpions there; and the hill of Mardin close by abounds in serpents of the most deadly kind."—"Das Buch der Lander," pp. 45, 47.)

^{35&}quot;Geographie de Aboulfeda," p. 283.

See Quatremere's "Observations," "Journ. des Sav.,"

Jan. 1851.

NOTE B

ON KUSDAR

A passage in the Tarikh-i Alfi, which speaks of Kusdar being "near the dominions of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin,"37 would seem to imply that Kusdar was a city of India, and it is so called by Abu-l Fida and Kazwini. The compiler of the Tarikh-i Alfi copies the whole of his narrative, with only a few verbal alterations, from the Rauzatu-s Safa, but the first clause is an addition of his own, from which it appears that Kusdar was by him thought to be the first city conquered in India; but as it was so remote from Jaipal's possessions, it does not seem probable that its capture could have inspired him with such fear for his own safety as the text represents, nor is it proper at any period to place the borders of India so far to the west.38 The last instance of its being mentioned as a portion of India is where, in the second part of the Taj'u-l Ma-asir, it is said to have been included in the dominion of Shamsu-d din after his capture of Bhakkar. The name of this town is so differently spelt by different authors that it is not often easy to recognize it in its various disguises. Its position is sufficiently indicated by the Tarikh-i Yamini,39 which, speaking of a period subsequent to that noticed in the text, tells us that when Mahmud thought it necessary to chastise the Governor of Kusdar, because he would not pay his tribute, he gave out that he was going on an expedition to Hirat, and had marched as far as Bust on that route, in order to disguise his inten-

^{37 (}See the old vol. of 1849, p. 153. The passage hardly seems to warrant the inference drawn from it.)
38 The "Bahru-l Buldan" places Kabul in India.
See also Reinaud's "Memoire," pp. 12, 39, 176.
39 See also "Turikh-i Yamini," Lith. Ed. p. 316.

tion, when he suddenly turned off towards Kusdar, and came so unexpectedly upon it, that the rebellious Governor came out and supplicated for pardon, and was reinstated after paying a considerable fine, as a penalty for his disobedience.

Kusdar lies to the south of Bust, and is the present Khuzdar of our maps, the capital of Jhalawan in Biluchistan. It is spelt both 'qisdar' and 'qizdar' according to Abu-l Fida, but both he and Sadik Isfahani prefer the former. The latter, however, is the most

usual mode of spelling it.

Von Hammer⁴¹ says that Wilken is correct in writing it Kasdar, but this is by no means authorised by either of the two Geographers mentioned above. Sadik Isfahani⁴² spells it Kisdar, and Abu-l Fida⁴³ Kusdar, and to his authority we must defer, as he is so very careful in specifying the vowel-points. Briggs calls it in one place Kandahar, in another Khoozdar.⁴⁴ The Nubian Geographer calls it Kardan Fardan,⁴⁵ and Kazwini Kasran Kasran.⁴⁶ M petis de la Croix calls it Custar, and M. Silvestre de Sacy Cosdar.⁴⁷

When Ibn Haukal visited the valley of Sind, he found Kusdar under a separate government, and dur-

41"Gemaldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen," vol.

iv. p. 106.

42"Takwimu-l Buldan," p. 122.

44Briggs' "Firishta," vol. i. pp. 15, 123.

^{**}Masson, "Balochistan, Afghanistan, and Punjab," vol. ii. p. 41. There is a Kooshder in Barnes's map, between Kelat and Dadur, which may perhaps be the place. The alternation of the first letter is suspicious.

^{348, 349.} At page 384 Mekran is said to be in Hind.

^{45&}quot; Geographia Nubiensis," pp. 64, 67, 68.

⁴⁶Gildemeister, "De rebus Indicis," p. 174. ⁴⁷Notices et Extr. des MSS.", tom. iv. pp. 332, 391.

ing the whole period of Arab occupation it was considered a place of importance. He describes it as a city and district between Turan and Sind. Kusdar is frequently mentioned by Biladuri. He quotes an Arabic poet, who thus rapturously speaks of its merits.

"Almonder has descended into his tomb at Kusdar, deprived of all commerce with people endowed with

reason.

"What a beautiful country is Kusdar! how distinguished its inhabitants! and how illustrious both for his worldly policy as well as his religious duties was the man who now lies buried in its soil."48

NOTE C TARIKH-I IBRAHIMI OR TAWARIKH-I HUMAYUNI OR

TARIKH-I HUMAYUN

A work under the title Tarikh-i Ibrahimi is described by Major Charles Stewart as an abridged history of India from the earliest times to the conquest of that country by Sultan Babar. It is mentioned as a quarto volume in the collection of Tippu Sultan. The author's name is given as Ibrahim bin Hariri, and the work was dedicated to Sultan Babar, A.D. 1528 (See Stewart's Descriptive Catalogue, etc. p. '13).

AReinaud, Fragments Arabes et Persans, p. 188. Compare also Pottinger, "Travels in Belochistan," p. 36. C. Ritter, "Erdk. von Asien," vol. vi. part i. pp. 714, 715. Gildemeister, De rebus Indicis, pp. 25, 209. "Wien Jahrbucher," no. laxiii. p. 31. Mirchondi "Historia Gasnevidarum, p. 146. Massan's "Kelat," p. 377.

Under this name the more famous history of Firishta is frequently quoted by Indian historians, in consequence of its having been compiled under the patronage of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, of Bijapur; but I have never met with the work quoted by Stewart, nor heard of its existence in any library in India.

(A copy of the work so noticed in Sir H. Elliot's first edition is in the Library of the East India Office, No. 428, and was brought to the notice of Sir H. Elliot by Morley. A comparison of Morely's summary of the contents and of a few extracts copied by that gentleman proved the work to be the same as one discovered in the Moti Mahal at Lucknow, under the title of Tawarikh-i Humayuni. There is a copy also bearing the same name in Paris. The Nawab of Jhajjar possesses a copy, apparently about 200 years old, which is lettered Tarikh-i Tabari, and another excellent copy is the property of Haji Muhammad of Peshawar.

The account of India begins with the Dehli slave kings, and incidental notices of those of Gujarat occur, in consequence of Humayun's connexion with that province. The history comes down to the time of Humayun in whose reign the writer lived. The references to authorities are few, but the lives of learned men are introduced, as in the Habibu-s Siyar of Khondamir. A comparison of the two works may show that the Humayuni is an abridgment of the larger work. The similarity of name and the termination of the work in the reign of Humayun led Sir H. Elliot to imagine that it might possibly turn out to be the Kanun-i Humayuni of Khondamir, already referred to elsewhere. This, however, cannot be, for Khondamir died in 941 H., and the work before us records Humayun's flight to Persia in 950, and carries his history down to his restoration, including the capture of Kandahar, and his entry into Kabul in 952 H.

The following is Morley's description of the copy in

the East Indian Library:

"Tarikh-i Ibrahimi, the name of the MS., is inscribed on the back of the first page, the title being so written by two former possessors, and in one instance with the addition of the words Tasnif-i Ibrahim ibn Harir. I do not find, however, either the title of the work or the name of the author expressed in the body of the books. The MS. bears no signs of ever having belonged to

Tippu.

There is no preface; the MS. begins at once, after the Bismillah. The author goes on to state the number of years that have elapsed from the Creation of the world to the time of Muhammad, according to the computation of various authors, beginning with Tabari. The work is not divided into books, chapters, sections, etc., as is usually the case, but presents the customary contents of a general history in the usual order. The Patriarchs and Prophets, beginning with Adam, pp. 4 to 59. Wise mer, and Philosophers (Lukman, Aflatun, etc.), pp. 60 to 70. Peshdadians, etc., from Kaiomars to Yazdajird, pp. 70 to 117. Muhammad, his ancestors and descendants, and the earlier years of Islam, pp. 118 to 184. The Twelve Imams, pp. 184 to 215. The Princes of the Bani-Ummayya, pp. 215 to 259. The Khalifahs of the Bani 'Abbas, pp. 259 to 334. The dynasties which arose during the time of the Bani 'Abbas, viz., Tahirides, Saffarides, Samanides, Ghaznivides, Khwarizmians, Atabaks, Muzaffarides, Ghorides, etc., pp. 334 to 377. The Changiz Khanians, Kara Kuinlu, etc., pp. 377 to 433. The Sultans of Hind, i.e. the Pathans, from Kutbu-ddin to A.H. 952, pp. 433 to 443. The Sultans of Gujarat, from Muzaffar Shah (A.H. 793) to Mahmud Shah bin Latif Shah (A.H. 943) pp. 443 to 445.

Timur, and his descendants to A.H. 951, when Humayun had sought refuge in Persia, pp. 445 to 498.

Imperfect at the end.

The history is everywhere very concise, as is shown by the above table of contents, but it is even more so

than is apparent by the table, as it is interspersed with the lives of eminent and learned persons; for instance, the account of Harunu-r Rashid occupies but thirteen lines; then follows a notice of the Imam Malik bin Anas (the tounder of the Maliki sect of Sunnis), which comprises twenty-two lines, and an account of the Barmakis extending to twenty-one lines. Al Mustansir Bi-llah is dismissed also in thirteen lines, whilst no less than 149 lines are devoted to the lives of Faridu-d din 'Attar, and other learned Shaikhs. These biographical notices indeed seem to be the most important part of the work, which, however, is very copious in dates, and so far useful, even when merely enumerating the succession of a line of kings.

If this be the MS. described by Stewart at p. 13, No. xxxi. of his Catalogue, he is wrong in calling it an abridged History of India, and also in stating that it extends only to the conquest by Babar, and that the work was dedicated to that prince, since, as has been above stated, it continues the history down to the reign of Humayun, and he year of the Hijra 951. At this point the MS. is left unfinished by the transcriber, not being imperfect by mutilation. The last twenty-two pages are nearly destitute of diacritical points. The size of the book is nine inches by four and a half. The character is Nasta'lik, and there are nineteen lines in a page."

A comparison of the last words of the MS. in the East India Library with those of the Lucknow copy shows that the latter contains only one leaf more than the former; and there is among Sir H. Elliot's papers the concluding words of another copy (perhaps that of Peshwar), which are identical with those of the London MS. These, however, are manifestly imperfect, for they break off in the very middle of a sentence. The Jhajjar copy has also lost a leaf at the end, but the missing portion is not identical with the one deficient in the other copies.

The work is a mere compendium. Humayun's

reign, from his accession to his restoration, occupies less than 100 lines. Such a summary does not afford passages suitable for translation, but two short pieces have been selected as specimens; the latter of which shows where the East India Library copy breaks off abruptly).

EXTRACTS

(Malik Ghiyasu-d din Pir 'Ali assumed the crown after the death of his father. He threw open the gates of kindness and generosity to people of every sort, and carried on the government of Khurasan until the month of Muharram, 781 H. On this date, Sahib-Kiran Amir Timur made himself master of Hirat by a treaty of peace, and taking the king prisoner, sent him to Samarkand. In the month of Ramazan, 785, the king and all his family tasted the nectar of martyrdom. Among the great and learned men who lived in the time of these kings was Abu-l Makarim Shaikh Ruknu-d din 'Alau-d daula (and so on with the life of the Shaikh).

Humayun marching from Kaiwan,¹ the city of Kandahar was favoured with the light of the royal countenance on the 11th Muharram, 952 H. In the course of Jumada-l awwal, he captured the fort of Kandahar, and there pardoned the offences of Muhammad 'Askari Mirza. About the middle of Sha'ban, he placed himself at the head of his forces, and marched to Kabul. Mirza Muhammad Kamran, notwithsanding his large army, had not the courage to encounter him, but fled to Sind. On the 11th Ramazan, His Majesty entered Kabul, like the soul into the body, or a rose into its parterre, and taking the people under his care and protection, they found rest in the shadow of his benevolence.)

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to be real than a subject that it is not believed

¹ Here the East India Library copy terminates.